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FRANCE,

SOCIAL, LITERARY, POLITICAL.

24488

BY

HENRY LYTTON BULWER, ESQ. M.P.

Nature and truth are the same every where, and reason shows them every where alike. But the accidents and other causes, which give rise and growth to opinions both in speculation and practice, are of infinite variety.—*Bolingbroke on the true Use of Retirement and Study.*

Reverere conditores Deos, numina Deorum. Reverere gloriam veterem, et hanc ipsam senectutem quæ in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra est. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque, nihil ex cujusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil etiam ex jactatione decerpseris.—*Plinius Maximo Suo S.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
(SUCCESSOR TO HENRY COLBURN.)
1834.


00094488

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DEDICATION

TO

B. G. KING, ESQ.

My dear King,

We have so few opportunities afforded us of testifying esteem, that I feel inexpressible gratification in thus being able to present you with this very unworthy token of the sentiments with which a long acquaintance has inspired me. Nor is this all:—the present dedication is not only an ordinary tribute paid to friendship—it is a tribute paid to a friend whom I esteem as much for his public principle as his private worth. And, indeed, it is no small consolation, in thus entering upon a new career, to feel that whatever may be my fate as an author—

there must still remain to me the pleasure and the honour with which I shall ever look back to the temporary connexion of my name with yours.—This is not said, my dear King, in the formal and customary spirit of dedicatory addresses, but with the deepest and sincerest sentiments of regard and affection.

Yours most truly,

HENRY LYTTON BULWER.

Hill Street, September 3, 1834.

INTRODUCTION.

It is now very nearly four years ago,—at that memorable time when the great Bourbon dynasty went once more into exile—that I first contemplated a work on France. Not altogether a work such as many which have appeared, skimming lightly over the surface of things, and pretending merely to be the result of a six weeks' residence at Paris—but a work which in describing the present, would connect it with the past—which in speaking of what is daily and accidental, would separate it from what ages have sanctioned, and distant ages are likely to see;—a work which in showing the effect which time, and laws, and accident produce upon the character of a people, would also show the manner in which the character of a people traverses time, enters into laws, dominates over accident. I thought such a work might be useful, in England: because it might at once teach us where we *could* or *could not* imitate our neighbours; and at the same time convince us that a wise imitation does not consist in copying the laws, or the customs

of another nation, but in adapting those laws and customs that we wish to imitate, to our own dispositions.

I thought such a work might be useful; I thought too such a work might be interesting; and that in order to make it useful and interesting, it would be necessary to make it amusing. The English writer of the present century is placed in many respects in the same situation as the French writer of the last. I do not say that he has the same instruction to give, but he has in the same manner to render instruction popular: and this I trust will be my excuse for having sometimes adopted a lighter tone, and introduced lighter matter into the following volumes than the gravity and importance of their subject might seem to require.

Thus, it is some time since I first conceived the project of this work—but I had not long proceeded to collect materials for my undertaking before I abandoned the pursuit. Carried along in the active rush of passing events—called upon to consider, and to take a humble part in, advancing a great revolution, far greater than many of its originators supposed—a revolution therefore before which it was wise to pause ere you began it—as it is wise to complete it now that it is commenced—a member of two reforming parliaments, and one reformed parliament—obliged to give eight or nine hours at the very least to daily at-

tendance in the House of Commons—where the public affairs of the week, like the fabled islands of the Mediterranean, for ever flit before you, and for ever vanish at your approach—I soon resigned an idea* which I had only imperfectly formed, or rather reserved it for some moment of golden leisure—such as we never cease to hope will one day arrive to us. In a visit, however, that I paid to Paris last year I recurred to a design so long meditated, and pursued with some diligence my former researches. As far as the materials with which those researches furnished me are concerned, I feel almost convinced that I obtained what in the hands of most writers must have imparted entertainment and information—but no one can be more sensible than I am, that I have not profited as I ought to have done by this advantage. The greater part of these pages was written during the heat and fever of a London existence:

* There was also, let me add, another difficulty thrown in my way by the late publication ("England and the English") of a near and dear relation, in whose literary success no one more deeply sympathizes than myself. For as the nature of our several works in some degree assimilated, so where I differed from him I might appear—to censure, and where I agreed with him—to imitate. This feeling damped at first my inclination to an enterprise, which afterwards his own kind wishes and my secret predilections induced me to hazard; with the hope, indeed, that I might steer through the obstacles I have referred to, as well as those even still greater, which I had also to encounter.

many of them, begun before the ordinary pursuits of the day were commenced; have been finished on returning home, after a late parliamentary division; and thus, independently of those faults, into which my inability would have involuntarily led me, there are others for which I am deeply sensible that I have to request the consideration of the reader, and the indulgence of the critic.

It is also true that I have not been able to comprize within the compass of two volumes all that I have written. I have here shown something of the character, something of the habits, something of the history—of the state of parties, of the predominant influences, and the literature of France—but many great questions which relate to the government, and industry of the country—to the state of the daily press, to the state of property, (now only glanced at,)—much that must govern the foreign and domestic prospects of the French, I have been obliged to defer to the volumes by which those I am now publishing will be succeeded. Still, I venture to hope that the curious and good-natured reader will find even in the following pages sufficient to repay him.

I have endeavoured to paint France—France as France is—not only France serious, but France gay. I have endeavoured to paint France in her studies, in her crimes, in her pleasures, whether the latter might be found in the guinguette and the ball-room, or the former might be tracked from the ball-room to the prison. In political as in do-

mestic life, happiness depends as well on little things as on great things. And so saith the scripture most sublimely of the wisest of men—"his heart was as the sands of the sea;" "one of the largest bodies," observes Bacon, "consisting of the smallest proportions."

In passing from one subject to another I have written with a feeling which I have long entertained, viz., that ideas are most naturally introduced into the minds of others, in the form and order in which they most naturally introduce themselves into our own minds;—in endeavouring to cut and to square, and to press and to clip, our thoughts into exact forms and proportions, we most frequently injure every part of a work, on the false idea of improving the whole, and make our book on the plan which presided over that royal palace, where all the pictures of Italy were systematically mutilated to the form and size of an apartment.

The plan I have adopted, then, is not without its method; but, however in some respects I might deem it desirable, I have not attempted to throw the colouring of one particular idea over the whole of my work, or to connect every effect that I have observed with one particular cause. Indeed I confess, for my own part, that when I pursue speculations of this kind, I advance on my way with considerable hesitation and doubt.

I confess that I am one of those who believe there to be so many chains, visible and invisible, in the connexion of human affairs—so much mystery and intricacy in the government of human actions—that oftentimes I hesitate involuntarily even at the moments when I feel most inclined to be presumptuous.

The plague breaks out at Florence; all the pious virgins, the religious matrons, and even the sacred sisters devoted to seclusion and God, give themselves up in a species of voluptuous delirium to the wildest excesses of prostitution and debauch. The same pestilence visits Aix, and the oldest courtezans of the place rush in a pious frenzy to the hospitals, and devote themselves to the certain death which seizes those who attend upon the sick. Yet a religious education does not lead necessarily to debauch—nor are brothels the best seminaries of charity and christian zeal.

What happened once may never happen again. Yet that which forms no ground for a theory, is often interesting as a fact.

I will now allude to one difficulty I have laboured under in this work—a difficulty which I particularly feel, and which if I had been writing of England I should have been spared. In speaking of our own country, we speak in a spirit which induces us to believe that we may take any liberty we think proper with our friends. We are at home, and we have the pri-

vilege of relationship. But it is different in a foreign land. Received as a stranger, but received with kindness and hospitality—the seal of courtesy is placed upon our lips, and we ought to shrink with disgust from being, or seeming, guilty of ingratitude. If then I could suspect myself of any of that national hostility which might induce me to find unnecessary fault with my hosts —if I disliked the French because they wear wooden shoes, or if I despised them because they do not live upon roast beef and plumb pudding—if I felt that kind of antipathy or rather jealousy towards them which I have remarked among some of my country-[redacted]—if I thought all their women had the features of Calmucks, and all their men the principles of Count Fathom—if I deemed the New Road infinitely superior to the Boulevards, and the Louvre [redacted] by the side of St. James's palace,—if I [redacted]d all this, and even believed it conscien[redacted] should hesitate long, after the kindness [redacted]xperienced, before I stated my opinions. [redacted]nce to me is a country in which repose many of my affections. I visited it young—its scenes and its people are connected with some of my earliest and therefore with some of my dearest, recollections. I never touch its soil but the green memory of fresher and happier times rises up around me. Some of those whom I have most valued —some of those whom I have most loved, link me

with the land of which I write, and infuse into my thoughts a colour which is assuredly not the hue of jealousy or aversion. I ask myself then, whether the opinions of a friend, even if they are delivered with impartiality—of a friend, who seeing with foreign eyes, gazes as it were through a magnifying glass, on all around him, and discerns at once both beauties and blemishes which are imperceptible to persons, who, under the influence of long habit and custom, regard without observing—I ask myself whether the opinions of such a friend, even if they do not always contain praise, ought to be considered as any derogation from that amity which he is bound to feel, and very distant from forswe[illegible] It is told of Hercules (a great reverer of the g[illegible] that when he saw the statue of Adonis in the t[illegible] ple of Venus, he exclaimed with indignation "[illegible] sacri es." And so surely there are objects a traveller may venture to criticize, even he finds them in a nation which he is mo[illegible] and bound to respect.

But enough of this—the preceding pag[illegible] been written too much for the sake of the author —the few introductory remarks I have to add will concern the reader only—and I imagine that he may like to have submitted to him a rough sketch of the form, and a brief summary of the materials of the country to which he is about to be introduced.

A SHORT ANALYSIS OF FRANCE.

The extent of France from north to south, from Dunkirk to Perpignan, is 575 French miles; its breadth from east to west, from Strasbourg to Brest, is 499 French miles; its total superficies about 53,000,000 hectares;* its population in 1833, 32,560,934 inhabitants.† This population is divided between the towns and the country in the following manner:—

35 [illegible] little communes contain . . 23,725,809 inhab.
towns, from 1,500 to 50,000 inh.
contain . . . 7,209,855
great cities, varying from 59,000
inh. to near 800,000‡ .. . 1,625,270

* [illegible] are is equal to two acres, one rood, thirty-five [illegible] ches English measure.

[illegible] the population increases every sixteen years by [illegible] The proportion of male to female births is as [illegible] teen, and not as twenty-two to twenty-one—a pro- [illegible] tently established. The average of life calculated [illegible] ago at twenty-eight years, is now calculated at [illegible]

‡ Paris . . 774,338
Lyons . . 292,370
Marseilles . 145,115 — 1,625,270
Bordeaux . . 104,467 — 7,209,855
Rouen . . 88,076 — 23,725,809
Nantes . . 87,198 — 32,560,934 Total.
Lille . . 69,073
Toulouse . . 59,630

so that 23,725,809 may be considered the agricultural population, and 8,835,125 the population devoted to other pursuits—a result entirely different from that which the population of Great Britain gives us.*

The division of France, according to law, is into

86 départements.
363 arrondissements.
2,835 cantons.
37,012 communes.

The division which nature seems to have established is of a different description: for N[illegible] seems to have divided France into four great p[illegible] round which are grouped other parts less imp[illegible] and which amalgamate less with the general [illegible] ter of the kingdom. Each of these plai[illegible] forms is confined, as it were, by a net [illegible] rivulets, and rivers, which intersecting i[illegible] direction, keep it at once in communic[illegible] itself, and separate from the adjoining dist[illegible]



* In England as appears by the census of 1821.

1,350,239 families engaged in trade and manufacture.
978,656 in agriculture.
612,488 other objects.

2,941,383 families.

46 per cent. in trade.
33 in agricultural.
21 other pursuits.

For the south you have the Saône and the Rhône, which meet at Lyons, and fall into the Mediterranean, between Marseilles and Montpellier, after having received into their bed all the rivers and rivulets which flow through this division.

For the north you have the Seine communicating between Paris and Rouen.

For the east the Loire, with its various tributary streams falling into the sea beneath Nantes.

And, lastly, you have the Gironde, forming the other great division, which has always had its peculiar characteristics.

Round these four great fluvial divisions are to the south—the little basins of the Hérault, and the Aude. To the west—the Landes, so different from the rest of France, the country watered by the Charente, La Vendée, and that ancient Britanny, with its old manners, its peculiar language, and peculiar history. To the north—Normandy and the basin of the Orne. And to the north-east—that region bordering on the Rhine, only half French, where three millions of men still talk German and Flemish—that region of which France covets the entire possession, and over which Germany will not permit the progress of France—that region which must be attacked and defended in the next war that breaks out in Europe.

Here then is France as divided by pursuits, as divided by law, as divided by nature. Another

division exists in cultivation; and the 53,000,000 hectares which constitute her surface, are thus distributed:

	Hectares.	
Land in ordinary agricultural cultivation - - -	22,818,000	
In vines - - -	2,000,000	
In fruit gardens, vegetable gardens, olives, chesnuts, hops, &c. -	2,500,000	
		27,318,000
Parks and shrubberies - - -		39,000
Forests - - - - -		6,522,000
	Hectares.	
Meadows and pasturage - - -		7,013,000
Buildings - - - -	213,000	
Mines, stone pits, and turf pits -	35,000	
Canals - - -	900,000	
Roads, rivers, mountains, and rocks -	6,555,000	
		7,693,000
Uncultivated - - - -		4,240,000
		53,035,000

Thus out of the 53,000,000 of hectares capable of cultivation in France,

There are under the plough or spade - 27,318,000

France being the only country in the world, perhaps, where ten-elevenths of the land fit to be cultivated is actually under cultivation. But at the same time

there are few countries where upwards of 22,000,000 of cultivated hectares (54,000,000 English acres) are hardly sufficient to supply food to 32,000,000 of inhabitants.* These two facts are connected together by another, for which France is more especially remarkable, viz. the allotment of her soil.

There are in France about 10,200,000 of distinct properties charged to the land tax. This tax is about the sixth of the revenue from the land. Of these 10,000,000 properties there are not much above 34,000, as will be seen by the annexed table, that pay upwards of 300 frs. *i. e.* that yield an income of 1,800 frs.—little more than £70.

Number of properties paying from

300 fs.	to 400 fs.	-	-	34,594
400	500	-	17,028	
500	600		9,997	
600	700	-	6,379	
700	800	-	4,254	
800	900	-	3,044	
				40,702
900	1,000	-	-	2,495
1,000	1,500	-	8,634	
1,500	2,000	-	3,313	
2,000	3,000	-	832	
3,000	4,000	-	861	
4,000	5,000	-	939	
				14,579 †

Properties, however, distinct in their taxation, may belong to the same proprietor. M. Dupin,

* See imports.

† Taken from the returns of the different préfets.

taking this union of properties into consideration, reckons 5,000,000 of landed proprietors; and from the best sources from which I can derive information, there would be 1,400 or 1,500 persons paying from 4,000 to 5,000 francs, *i. e.* receiving a landed income of from 24,000 to 30,000 francs a year, instead of 939, which is the number of distinct properties paying that sum, or yielding that income, in the separate departments.*

This division of land produces two remarkable effects on the government, which it will be sufficient here merely to point out.

In the first place, property being distributed in such small portions in the country, twelve-fifteenths of the electors are from the towns, though three-fourths of the population are, as I have said, from the country.

Secondly. The want of any wealthy class in the nation invests in the state much of the power, and much of the business, which in more aristocratical countries would be performed by individuals. The demand, then, which the landed nobility make for a lower suffrage, is a demand natural to their situation, interests, and position, while the force and centralization of the French government is the consequence of that with which it is sometimes considered inconsistent, viz. the equality that exists among the French people.

* The proprietors of forest lands are not included in this calculation.

There are upwards of 32,000,000 of people then in France—distributed between the towns and the country. In the country there are 10,200,000 landed properties paying the land tax, and 5,000,000 at least landed proprietors. In the towns there are 1,118,500 persons exercising trade and paying for a patent.* Add these 5,000,000 of landed proprietors, and these 1,118,500 persons exercising trade by patent together—and you have a total of 6,118,500.

Suppose there to be four persons to the family of each of these proprietors, and tradespeople, or merchants—*i e.* patentees—and you have 24,474,000 families possessing property in land or in trade. To this number again add the persons possessing property on mortgage, or in the funds, and who do not come under either of the above denominations—and amidst this immense mass of proprietors, shop-

* A licence to exercise a trade.

† In 1824, the total amount of the interest, at five per cent. on the national debt was, 197,014,892 frs. divided as follows—

Holders of stock.	Amount of stock.	Total.
10,000 from	10 to 50 frs. - -	310,000 frs.
36,000 - -	50 - 99 - - -	2,750,000
76,000 - -	100 - 1,000 - - -	30,600,000
15,000 - -	1,000 - 4,999 - - -	42,500,000
5,000 - -	5,000 - 9,999 - - -	27,290,000
10,000 - -	10,000 and upwards - - -	36,550,000
152,000		140,000,000 frs.

Goldsmith's Statistics of France.

keepers, fundholders, &c. behold 400,000 soldiers,* 55,000 placemen,† and 200,000 electors!

Such is the population of France—its total revenue is estimated at about 8 milliards frs.—‡

Agriculture	- -	5 milliards.
Commerce and manufactures		3 ditto.
	Total	8

Of this there is only 696,282,132 frs. (1832) exported, the principal exports being stuffs, and felts, and drinks; and the principal countries exported to

* The standing army in France of 1833 consisted of 406,399 men fit for active service, and 93,509 horses;—thus divided: staff, 2,586 officers; gendarmes, 622 officers, 15,277 subalterns and privates, and 12,260 horses; 89 regiments of infantry, 9,864 officers, 263,077 subalterns and privates; 52 regiments of cavalry, of which 24 are heavy—2,885 officers, 51,043 subalterns and privates, and 45,665 horses; 11 regiments of artillery, 1,190 officers, 32,594 subalterns and privates, 29,689 horses; 3 regiments of engineers, 247 officers, 7,803 subalterns, and privates, and 769 horses. Baggage train, 127 officers, 4,364 subalterns and privates, and 5,126 horses. Veteran corps, 466 officers, 12,841 subalterns and privates.

The naval force of France afloat in 1833 consisted of 289 vessels of various descriptions; namely, 83 ships of the line, 39 frigates, 17 corvettes, 9 advice boats, 54 brigs, 8 bomb-ships 6 gun-brigs, 18 galliots and cutters, 36 flotilla-boats, 17 steam-ships, 52 sloops, transports, and yachts.

† I have a curious statement of these places now before me.

‡ M. C. Dupin. During the empire, France with its various additions and dependancies, was estimated at a revenue of 7,035,600,000 frs., of which 5,031,000,000 was the product of the soil.

being, England, the United States, and Switzerland.*

The imports in the same year amounted to 652,872,341 frs. The principal articles imported being, skins, other animal matter, and farinaceous aliments; the principal countries imported from being, the United States, Sardinia, and Belgium.

The commercial shipping entering and leaving the ports of France, for the year 1832 :—

		Tonnage.
Inward :	83,663 French	2,873,520
——	5,651 Foreign	714,638
Outward :	82,134 French	2,768,307
——	4,634 Foreign	161,704

The duties levied were—export duty, 1,421,477; import duty, 133,174,809 frs.

The manufacture most natural to France, and for which the French are the most suited, is perhaps the manufacture of silk. We find from the Archives Statistiques of the Department of the Rhône, the average of raw material employed in the silk manufactures of Lyons amounts to 55,000,000 francs of which 30,000,000 francs are imported, and 25,000,000 francs are home grown. The following

* See Dr. Bowring's reports for a great variety of information respecting the commerce of France, and more especially its commerce with this country.

have been the vicissitudes in this manufacture during the space of forty years. In 1786, there were in Lyons and the neighbourhood, 15,000 looms; in 1789, there were 7,000; in 1800, there were 3,500; from 1801 to 1802 there were 10,720; in 1827, there were 30,000.

This manufacture, then, seems to have been reduced by the Revolution more than one-fourth; and augmented during the Restoration, by two-thirds.*

There has been an exposition this year of the industry of France, the details of which are in every way interesting to those who trace the character of a people even in their manufactures. But this is not the place where I can enter at any length into a consideration of the facts connected with this subject. Neither have I space here to add many of the interesting details relative to French commerce, which are to be found in Dr. Bowring's reports.

The expenses of the country (according to the budget of 1832)† amounted to about 1,106,618,270 frs.; of which ordinary expenses 962,971,270—extraordinary 143,647,000; out of this there are the public debt, amounting to 344,854,303,‡ and the expenses of collecting, &c. 114,759,433.

* In 1831, when the sale in this manufacture decreased one-half, *i.e.* from 45,835,257 frs. to 26,981,303 frs., its export sale remained the same.

† 1834—1,058,080,547, frs. I have taken 1832, since I happen to have all the details by me for that year, and there is no very great difference in the amount.

‡ There are charged upon the debt pensions to the amount

The public departments cost 586,786,672 frs.; that is,

Minister of justice - - -	18,371,700
——— of foreign affairs - - -	6,959,700
——— of public instruction and worship -	36,327,883
——— of home department - -	3,889,600
——— of commerce and public works -	122,894,589
——— of war - - -	309,030,400
——— of marine - - -	65,172,900
——— of finances - - -	24,156,900
	586,786,672

The expenses of religion as apart from the minister of public instruction, are 33,507,600 frs., *i. e.* 65,000 frs. to the Jews, 750,000 frs. to the Protestants, the rest to the Catholics. The Catholic religion alone cost before the revolution of 1789, 135,000,000 frs.; 100,000,000 frs. more than all the religions cost at the present day.*

of 56,038,500 frs. The journal Statistique de Paris gives the following calculation for 1833:

Pensions included in Debt are	Persons.	Francs.
To the peerage - -	128	1,564,000
To persons for civil services -	2,490	1,733,000
To persons for services of July -	1,408	632,700
To the clergy - - -	28,186	4,602,469
To persons for military services -	127,011	46,683,221
	159,223	55,274,790

* The analysis of the French budget, and its comparison with our own, is a subject too interesting for me not to intend to return to it, while I am glad to find this occasion of saying, that some very able articles which appeared in the Spectator, and also a very interesting book, lately published by Mr. Wells, afford much greater facility for doing so than formerly existed.

The direct taxes of France amount to 353,136,909. These taxes are, on the land, which alone amounts to 244,873,409 frs., on the person and on furniture, on houses and windows, and on patents for the exercise of trade.

The indirect taxes are estimated at - -	371,000,000
Registry, stamps, &c. at - - -	198,225,000
Customs - - - -	160,910,000

The post brings in a revenue of 34,290,000 frs.: the lottery 8,000,000. The total amount from different resources 1,116,323,058.

According to a calculation given in the Journal Statistique, the proportion which certain of these taxes bear to the population of France, taking her population at 33 millions,* and the superficies of her territory at 53,000,000 hectares, *i. e.* nearly 27,000 square leagues, (French,) would be;

Nature of Tax.	Sums included in the budget of 1834.	By inhab. and by year.	By square league.
	frs.	fr. c.	frs. c.
Land - - - -	245,511,154	7 44	9,093 0
Personal and moveable property - - - -	51,165,000	1 55	1,895 0
Doors and windows - -	26,830,000	0 81	993 70
Patents - - - -	29,818,500	0 90	1,104 37
Liquors - - - -	87,000,000	2 64	3,222 22
Salt - - - -	62,200,000	1 88	2,303 70
Tobacco - - - -	68,000,000	2 6	2,518 57
Tax on letters - - -	32,870,000	1 0	1,217 40
Lotteries - - - -	32,000,000	0 98	1,185 18
Total	635,394,654	19 26	23,533 14

* It was in 1833—about 32,600,000—as I have said.

Average per department, 7,383,310 frs., and 1,222 inhabitants to 22 square leagues.

As all the subjects I have thus hastily touched upon are subjects to which I shall subsequently return, I only add here one or two words on the state of education.

There are in France 45,119 schools of primary instruction, and the government now pays for instruction 8,000,000 frs. Whereas, it paid before the revolution of July only 800,000 frs.

The following are the principal provisions of the celebrated law of 28th June, 1833.

COMMUNES.

Every commune, by itself, or by uniting itself with others, must have one school of primary instruction.

All communes which have more than 6,000 inhabitants must support a higher school for superior instruction, as well as a school of primary instruction.

All the poor incapable of paying for their education, shall be educated at schools of primary instruction, gratis; and a certain number selected after an examination shall be educated gratis at the schools of superior instruction.

* There are also private schools, of course, but of these I say nothing. No man, however can be a schoolmaster without a "brevet" of capacity obtained after an examination conducted according to the kind of school over which he is to preside.

Primary, or elementary instruction, consists in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the system as established by law of weights and measures.

Superior instruction comprises, in addition to these acquirements, the elements of geometry and its application; the elements of chemistry and natural history, as applied to the ordinary habits and pursuits of life; the elements of history and geography, and more especially the history and geography of France.

The communal schools are governed by a committee, consisting of the mayor, the "curé," and the chief inhabitants of each commune as appointed by the committee of 'arrondissement.'

ARRONDISSEMENT.

In each 'arrondissement' there is a committee appointed especially to watch over primary instruction.

The mayor of the "chef-lieu," the "juge de paix," the "curé," a minister of each religion recognized by law within the boundaries of the 'arrondissement,' a schoolmaster or professor named by the minister of instruction, three inhabitants of the council of 'arrondissement,' any members of the council general of the 'département' who reside within the 'arrondissement,' shall form this committee.

The préfet presides at all the committees of the 'département;' the sous-préfet, at the committees of the 'arrondissement.'

Part of the duty of the committees of 'arron-

dissement' is to report annually to the minister of instruction the state of the different schools of their 'arrondissement,' and to suggest any improvement.

DEPARTEMENT.

Every department must have "one normal school," (school for the instruction of schoolmasters,) either by itself, or by uniting with another department.

SALARIES OF SCHOOLMASTERS.

A residence, and 400 frs. yearly for masters to a superior primary school.

A residence, and 200 frs. yearly for masters to a primary school.

FUNDS FOR SUPPORTING.

The government, by gifts and by contributions.
The communes, separately or collectively.
The departments.
Founders, donations, and legacies.

In 1825, out of the number of communes, viz. 38,149 there were furnished with schools - -	26,710
In 1829 - - - - -	23,919
Difference - -	2,791
In 1832 there were schools - - -	31,420
In 1829 - - - - -	27,365
Difference - -	4,055

The adjoining table gives pretty accurately the state of education in France.

DISTRIBUTION OF INSTRUCTION.

No. of Order.	DEPARTMENT.	Number of young men knowing how to read and write out of every 100.	No. of Order.	DEPARTMENT.	Number of young men knowing how to read and write out of every 100.
1	Meuse (maximum)	74	62	Ardèche (minimum)	27
2	Doubs	73	63	Indre et Loire	27
3	Jura	73	64	Tarn et Garonne	25
4	Haute Marne	72	65	Vienne	25
5	Haut Rhin	71	66	Ile et Vilaine	25
6	Seine	71	67	Loire Inférieure	24
7	Hautes Alpes	69	68	Lot	24
8	Meurthe	68	69	Var	23
9	Ardennes	67	70	Maine et Loire	23
10	Marne	63	71	Creuse	23
11	Vosges	62	72	Haute Loire	21
12	Bas Rhin	62	73	Tarn	20
13	Côte d'Or	60	74	Maine	20
14	Haute Saône	59	75	Mayenne	19
15	Aube	59	76	Puy de Dôme	19
16	Mozelle	57	77	Arriège	18
17	Seine et Oise	56	78	Dordogne	18
18	Eure et Loire	54	79	Indre	17
19	Seine et Marne	54	80	Côtes du Nord	16
20	Oise	54	81	Finisterre	15
21	Hautes Pyrénées	53	82	Morbihan	14
22	Calvados	52	83	Cher	13
23	Eure	51	84	Haute Vienne	13
24	Aisne	51	85	Allier	13
25	Corse	49	86	Corrège	12
	Average of the kingdom	38			

The average number of children at school in different states of Europe and America compared with the number of inhabitants in those states has been given as follows: *

United States	1	scholar on	4	inhab.		
Pays de Vaud	1	——	6	—		
Wirtemburg	1	——	6	—		
Prussia	1	——	7	—		
Bavaria	1	——	10	—		
England	1	——	11	—		
Austria	1	——	13	—		
France	1	——	20	—		
Ireland	1	——	21	—		
Poland	1	——	78	—		
Portugal	1	——	88	—		
Russia	1	——	367	—		

And now I shall proceed without further delay to beg the reader to follow me with a kindly spirit to the book for which I have been thus endeavouring to solicit and prepare his attention.

* M. César Moreau.

ERRATA.

Page 8, line 5, *for* Rampart, *read* Rempart.
62, — 27, *for* rent, *read* 'rente.'
80, — 25, *for* to meet with a Frenchman, *read* to meet a Frenchman with, &c.
112, — 4, *for* Jeune, *read* Jeunes.
120, — 17, *for* d'artifices, *read* d'artifice.
131, — 18, *for* unes, *read* une.
139, — 5, *for* les *read* des.
157, — 6, *for* bourg, *read* burg.
152, — 24, *insert* the *before* courtier.
196, — 11, *for* women, *read* woman.
293, — 18, *for* flower, *read* flour.

The indulgence of the reader is requested for obvious typographical errors, and the *misplacing* and casual omission of accents—as Crebillon for Crébillon, Siéyes for Sièyes, devenir for dévenir—a misfortune which in printing a work of this description in England it is almost impossible to avoid in the hurry of passing through the press.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

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BOOK I.

THE CAPITAL.

" Transportons l'Angleterre au milieu de la France.

CAHUSAC.

PARIS.

ENTRY.

The entrance into London by the Thames—The Entrance into Paris by the Champs Elysées—Passing by the 'Caserne,' intermingled with cafés and salons littéraires — The Invalides; the Tuileries; the Chamber of Deputies—The Rue de Rivoli—The universal movement of pleasure—Paris not the climate of Paris—View of an autumnal evening from the Rue de la Paix—Proverb respecting the Boulevards.

It is by the Thames that the stranger should enter London.... the broad breast of the great river, black with the huge masses that float upon its crowded waters—the tall fabrics, gaunt and drear, that line its melancholy shores—the thick gloom through which you dimly catch the shadowy outline of these gigantic forms—the marvellous quiet with which you glide by the dark phantoms of her power into the mart of nations—the sadness, the silence, the vastness,

the obscurity of all things around—prepare you for a grave and solemn magnificence: full upon your soul is shadowed the sombre character of "the golden city;" deep into your thoughts is breathed the genius of the great and gloomy people, whose gloom and whose greatness are, perchance, alike owing to the restless workings of a stern imagination. Behold St. Katherine's Docks, and Walker's Soap Manufactory! and "Hardy's Shades!" Lo! *there* is the strength, the industry, and the pleasure—the pleasure of the enterprising, the money-making, the dark-spirited people of England. "Hardy's *Shades!*" —singular appellation for the spot dedicated to festivity! . . . . . Such is the entrance into London by the Thames.

Let us change the scene, reader!—you are at Paris!

To enter Paris with advantage you should enter it by the Champs Elysées: visiting for the first time the capital of a military nation, you should pass under the arch, built to commemorate its reign of victories. Coming to dwell among the most gay and light-hearted people in the universe, you ought at once to rush upon them in the midst of their festivities. Enter Paris, then, by the Champs Elysées! Here are the monuments that speak to you of the great soldiers;

and here the 'guinguettes' that display to you the great dancers of Europe. You pass by the old gardens of Beaujon; you find the 'caserne' (and this tells you a good deal of the nation you are come to visit) intermingled with 'cafés' and 'salons littéraires;' and you see the chairs under the trees, and the open spaces left for the ball; and if you stop to read an advertisement, it will talk of the 'Chevaux mécaniques,' and of the 'Bal paré' and of the 'Concert des Champs Elysées,'—and the sun shines upon the golden cupola of the stately Invalides, and on the glittering accoutrements of the sauntering soldier; and before you are the Tuileries, with their trees and terraces, which yonder misplaced monument,* cannot quite conceal; and to your right are the Seine and the Chamber of Deputies, and to your left the Corinthian architecture of those tall palaces that form the Rue de Rivoli. The tricolored flag floats from the gates of the Royal Gardens; the military uniform, mixed up with the colouring of every passing group, enriches it with its deep-blue and its bright scarlet; the movement about you is universal: equipages of all kinds are passing in all directions; the movement is universal, but differing from that

* The Egyptian column.

you are accustomed to in England,—the movement is the movement of idleness and of pleasure; an indescribable mirth reigns in all you see, and the busy gaiety of Paris bursts upon you with the same effect as the glad brightness of Italy. The people, too, have all the habits of a people of the sun; they are not the people of one stock; collected in every crowd are the features and the feelings of divers races and different regions. In Paris you are not *in the climate of Paris* — France is brought into a focus, and concentrated in the capital you find all the varieties that vivify the many provinces of the kingdom. It is this which gives a city of the North the gracious and agreeable aspect of the South, and transports the manners that are legitimate to the olives and the myrtles of Provence to the elms of the Champs Elysées and the Boulevards. London is the city of the English, as Constantinople is the city of the Turks.—Paris is the city of Europe; it unites more than any city in the world the wants of a variety of classes, the habits of a variety of people. With the snow you have the sledge of St. Petersburg; with the summer the music, the nightly promenade, the ice, the lemonade; and all—but the sea and the sky of Naples.

I am now at the corner of the Rue de la Paix. It is a beautiful autumnal evening. What a dazzling confusion of colours and images! white houses, green trees, and glittering lights! The rattling equipage rushes by me, the whispering saunterer lounges before me, and the group is seated round the 'café;' and the music is far enough away to lose all harshness—and in the back-ground—behold! the piles of buildings, and the lines of lamps, rising one above the other, and broken at intervals by some dark mass of verdure! It is almost impossible to describe this scene, and as impossible to gaze upon it—without inhaling some portion of the spirit it breathes, without feeling a character more soft and southern—a ray of light that had not penetrated there before, stealing into the severe and sombre recesses of one's northern imagination. Here it is more especially that the Boulevards justify the old French proverb, which says,—"When *le bon Dieu* is out of humour, he opens one of the windows of heaven and recovers his spirits by a glimpse of this long line of trees." There is certainly nothing that I know of, like the Boulevards, in any other city in the world.

BOULEVARDS.

The Boulevards contain a part of every district of Paris, and exhibit every class of Paris—Description from the Rue Royale to the Rue de la Paix—Terraces of the Rue Basse du Rampart—Stalls opposite, horses, equipages, &c. &c.—Description from the Rue de la Paix to the Rue de Richelieu—Voluptuaries—Gamblers—Stockbrokers—The man of La Bruyère—Portraits—Description after the Rue Montmartre—Parisian Medici—Further on, commerce more modest—Gaieties—Dubureaux, waxworks, &c.—Boulevard Beaumarchais—Place Royale—Elephant—Boulevards the best place to see the French people, and to study the French history—Paris, 1814—Review by Louis Philippe.

Oxford Street gives one aspect of London, Regent Street another, the Strand another; but the Boulevards, running directly through Paris, display the character of the town in all its districts, and the character of its inhabitants in all their classes.

Go from the Rue Royale to the site of the

old Bastille. You first pass by those zigzag and irregular houses that jut out upon the old rampart, and which have rather a picturesque appearance, from the gay little terraces and balconies, which, when there is a ray of sun, are sure to be lit up by it; and opposite, you have the stalls, gay also, (notwithstanding their poverty,) where you may get nailed shoes and cotton-net braces, and works "six sous the volume!" stalls which carry, even into this scene of wealth and pleasure, the democracy of the epoch, and say that the people are everywhere buying, lounging, reading. And here you have a happy opportunity of admiring the vast variety of Parisian equipages—the poor and the rich are on horseback, on foot, in carriages, in tilburies, in 'citadines,' in 'demi-fortunes,' in omnibuses, hurrying to or from the Champs Elysées—but once passed the Rue de la Paix, in the neighbourhood of the Bains Chinois, the Café de Paris and Tortoni's, you are in a different region. It is not only a throng perpetually changing, which you now see—the cavalcade has in a great measure ceased; and you perceive a new and a more lazy, and a more lounging crowd seated at the doors of the 'cafés,' or strolling up and down before them. Those gentlemen

who, to use the French expression, "*eat their fortunes*," are here; and here are the gamblers of the stock exchange, of "*the salon*," and of Frescati's the passionate race who crowd existence into a day, who live every minute of their lives, and who have come to enjoy the hour they have snatched from agitation. Here they saunter listlessly in the sun, or stand in clusters at the corners of the streets.

This is the spot, too, where you are sure to meet that smirking and happy gentleman, who, as La Bruyère says, "encounters one everywhere"—that gentleman whom we just met in the Tuileries, whom we saw the night before at the opera, and whom we should be sure to stare in the face at the Variétés. Sit for half an hour on one of those chairs—there is hardly any class, the type of which will not pass before you! The pretty nurse of the Chaussée d'Antin, the old bachelor of the Marais, the 'gros bourgeois' of the Rue St. Denis, the English family of two sons and seven daughters—all these you are sure to see in turn. But there are portraits sacred to the place! Yonder elderly gentleman is one! He is about fifty-five years of age; tall, with a slight bend forward; he moves with a certain stiffness; his hair, closely cut, is a dark-grey; his fea-

tures, rather delicate and aristocratic than otherwise, are weather-beaten, and perhaps in some degree worn and sharpened by debauch; he wears a black neckcloth; the part of his shirt that is seen is remarkably white; his coat, decorated with a red ribbon, is buttoned up to his chest, and only just shows a stripe of a pale yellow waistcoat; he walks with a cane, and has that kind of half-haughty, half-careless air by which Bonaparte's soldier is still distinguished. A little behind him are two men, arm in arm; the hat of one, elaborately adjusted, is very much bent down before and behind, and turned up in an almost equal proportion at the sides; his waistcoat is peculiar and very long; his trowsers large about the hips, and tightening at the foot; he wears long spurs, immense moustaches, brandishes a cane, spits, and swaggers. The other, as insignificant in appearance as his friend is offensive, wears a little round hat, a plain spotted summer waistcoat, light grey trowsers, and a thin stick, which he rather trails than flourishes. The inoffensive gentleman looks at nothing—the swaggering gentleman looks at everything: the inoffensive gentleman plays at whist, and creeps into society—the swaggering gentleman lives at the theatres, and drives about

an actress.—And now see a man, tall, dark, with an air in which fierceness and dignity intermingle! He walks alone: sometimes he shuts his eyes, sometimes he folds his arms; a variety of occasions on which he lost, a variety of chances by which he might have gained, give every now and then a convulsive twitch to his overhanging eyebrow—he meets a red-nosed gentleman, of sleek and comely aspect, and who steps upon his toes;—the two walk arm-in-arm together towards the Rue de Richelieu. . . . . .

Pass on to the Rue Montmartre, and the Boulevard takes a different aspect, The activity of business mixes itself with the activity of idleness; here are the large magazines of the Parisian Medici; the crowd, less elegant, has the air of being more employed. Pass on again—commerce assumes a quieter appearance; its luxurious companions have disappeared; there are no chairs, for there is no leisure; but go a little further, and the gaieties recommence; the gaieties, this time, not of the "*nobilace*," but of the "*populace*"—not of the aristocracy of the 'Chaussée d'Antin,' but of the aristocracy of the 'Temple.' Grouped round yonder stage, much resembling the antique theatre of Thespis, you see the mob of modern Greece, enchanted with the

pleasures of Dubureaux :* and here you may put into the lottery for a cake, and here you may have your destiny told for a 'sou;' and the great men—the great men of France—the Marshals and Generals of the empire, the distinguished orators of the Restoration, the literary celebrities of the day—Ney, Foy, Victor Hugo—are there before you, as large —a great deal larger, indeed—than life; for the multitude are rarely satisfied with things just as they are; they like to see their heroes fresh, fat, and magnificently dressed; and all this is easily accomplished when their heroes are in wax. Where these great men at present exhibit themselves, there used formerly to be tumblers; but the people's amusements have changed, though the people must still be amused.

And at last we have come to the silent and tranquil Boulevard of the agitated and turbulent Beaumarchais; and behind are the tall palaces of dark-red brick, and the low and gloomy arcades of the Place Royale, where you find the old-fashioned magistrate, the old-fashioned merchant, the retired respectability of

* The famous street-actor, whose ambulatory stage has been celebrated by Monsr. Janin.

Paris: and yonder! before us—is the memorable spot, witness of the first excesses and the first triumphs of the Revolution—but the spectres of its old time are vanished, and the eye which rests upon the statue of yonder gigantic and sagacious animal,* tries to legitimatize the monument,—by considering it as a type of the great people who raised the barricades in July 1830, and overthrew the Bastille in July 1789.

And now, my dear reader, in parading you thus systematically from the Madeleine to the 'Temple,' I have given you the best introduction, I believe, to Paris and its population. If you want to know the people of Paris, you must seek them abroad. They love the sun, and the air, and the sauntering stroll; they love, if it be only for a moment, to glide across the broad street—amidst the turnings and windings of which, society changes its colours at every instant, like the shifting forms of a kaleidoscope: the idle loiter there for amusement, the busy steal there for distraction. Besides, it is not only the present I have been showing you: I do not know where you may better study the past. What has not even our own generation looked on from yonder windows? Robespierre, Barras,

* The elephant.

Bonaparte, the Republic, the Directory, the Empire—have all passed in triumph and defeat before them.

—"By twelve o'clock at noon the Boulevards were crowded with people of every class, all appearing in high spirits; the number of white cockades increased; many of them wore only bits of white handkerchiefs, bits of white paper, "*Vivent nos Libérateurs!*" "*Vivent les Bourbons!*" —I put down the book I was reading the other morning ("Events at Paris in 1814") at this passage, and went out—to see Louis Philippe reviewing the very men who had driven these same Bourbons into exile. The Boulevards now, too, were crowded with people of all classes, appearing in high spirits; and, looking down the street, I saw the straight red feather and the white belt mingling with the scarf, and the shawl, and the plain cap, and the splendid bonnet. The new King was on horseback, smiling graciously on his *faithful* people; and behind him rode the Prince, on whose head repose the future destinies of France—as gay, as handsome, as full of hope, as the Comte d'Artois in the reign of Louis XV.

PALAIS ROYAL.

Every thing in Paris that is remarkable, remarkable for its gaiety—Evening in the Palais Royal in 1830—The Jubilee of the Revolution—The King of the middle classes had his palace supported by shops—Fête Napolitaine—Vicissitudes of history—Description of the Palais Royal, and changes—Gambling houses; description from M. Balzac—Must civilization be accompanied by its curses? .....

THERE are countries in which you may yet find a few of those solemn temples which defy the destruction of time, and the imitation of man. In Italy, in Greece, and in Asia, there are shrines at which your footsteps too fondly linger: in the silence of the great place of St. Mark, in the solitudes that surround the Coliseum, you feel the mystery of the spot, and sigh for the pleasant days of Venice—for the virtue and the glory of 'the antique Rome.' It is not the magnicence of these scenes: it is their melancholy—the melancholy which that magnificence has left

—that sinks into your soul, and enchants you with the hue of by-gone memories—of hopes and happiness no more. There is nothing of this here: whatever is most remarkable in Paris is remarkable for its gaiety. This is why I spoke of the Boulevards: this is why I now speak of the Palais Royal.—It will be long before I forget an evening that I spent there in the beginning of August, 1830. I had come from the quiet corners of the city, more and more struck at every step by the tranquillity into which a revolution could so suddenly subside. It could hardly be said there was a government, and—there seemed nothing to require one: the storm that had raised the barricade and swept over the throne, was lulled completely to rest. The poor population of the distant Faubourgs slept in forgetfulness of the recent triumphs they had won; and the streets through which I had passed were lone and silent, and traversed by no light, save that of the pale 'reverbère.' It was fresh from this dim and solitary walk, that I burst at once upon the splendour and the crowds of the Palais Royal. Every chair, every stone bench was occupied, and, instead of the dark and deserted street, I found myself lost in an immense throng, and bewildered by a blaze of light, which ostentatiously displayed shawls

and silks, and gold, and silver, and crystal, and precious stones; and amidst this gorgeous and confused glitter, sate in sedate satisfaction the epicurean '*Rentier*,' now recounting to his wife the change that was to be made in the new uniform of the Garde Nationale—now pointing out some pupil of the Polytechnic School, or some dark-haired student of the '*Ecole de Droit*,' who had been particularly conspicuous at the spot where he himself had performed miracles: and the waiters rushed from side to side, bustling, shouting; and the laugh, and the gay voice in which the Frenchman tells the tale of his exploits, resounded everywhere.

It was impossible not to connect the festivity around me with the events of the three days preceding: it was impossible not to imagine I was present at the jubilee of the new régime: and in each accent of gaiety I fancied there was to be discerned a peculiar tone, and in each look of joy I fancied there could be read a peculiar expression—and what place more proper to celebrate the triumphs of July? Installed amidst the commercial opulence around me, was at that time the residence of the Citizen King —the monarch of the middle classes; his palace was supported by shops; his wealth* was con-

* The chairs alone give a revenue of 80,000 francs.

nected with the wealth, and his fortune supplied by the fortune of the tailor, the watchmaker, the jeweller, and the 'restaurateur:' France, in reconstituting her monarchy, had meetly and involuntarily taken—the counter as a substitute for the buckler—noble cradle of her military kings! But two months before, and the windows of the palace, which at that moment were dark and gloomy, blazed with light! The Royal Exile of Cherbourg, then in all the pageantry of power, had deigned for the first time to visit the cousin who now sat upon his throne. More than one branch of the Bourbons were assembled on the eve of that catastrophe which was to affect the order of their race. The fête given was in honour of the King of Naples. "*C'est une fête toute Napolitaine, Monseigneur,*" said Monsieur de Salvandy; "*nous dansons sur un volcan.*" *

* "*C'est une fête toute Napolitaine, Monseigneur,*" said M. de Salvandy, *nous dansons sur un volcan.*" And brilliant must have been that fête; extending from the terrace to the trees, from arcade to arcade, the lights of the palace confounded themselves with the lights of the vast amphitheatre around, and mingling the prince with the people, the monarch with the mob, in one confused blaze—you saw the court, the city—the two parties in presence who were soon to dispute the victory. At this fête a conversation took place so

Such are the vicissitudes of history!—The same Richelieu who tore down the pillars of the

singular and so interesting that, having mentioned the fête, I cannot omit the conversation. I give it as M. de Salvandy has himself related it.

" It took place as the consequence of the bon-mot. '*C'est une fête toute Napolitaine, Monseigneur; nous dansons sur un volcan.*' The Prince (Duc d'Orléans,) standing behind the 'fauteuils' of the Princesses and the King, seized my arm quickly as I said this; and doing me the honour to draw me towards him, 'That there is a volcano,' said his Royal Highness, 'I believe as well as you; and at all events the fault is no fault of mine: I shall not have to reproach myself for allowing the bandage to remain unlifted that covers the King's eyes. But what can one do? nothing is listened to, and God only knows where this will lead us.'

" 'Far! Monseigneur, it will lead us far!—that is my conviction. I feel also in the midst of this fête, so animated and so beautiful, a profound sentiment of sorrow; I ask myself where in six months will be this brilliant society? where will be these crowds so joyous, that Princess so gay, (alluding to Madame la Duchesse de Berri, who was 'galloping' with Count Rodolph d'Appony, where in fact will be our country? Within six months we shall probably be divided into the proscribed and the proscribing.'

" 'Certes,' answered his Royal Highness, 'I do not know what will happen, I do not know where those you speak of will be in six months; but I know where I shall be, whatever comes. I and my family will remain in this palace; it is enough to have been twice an

ancient monarchy, built the palace from which the new monarchy was to be taken;* at once

exile through the faults of others. Whatever be the dangers, I shall not move from this spot: I shall not separate my lot and the lot of my children from the fate of my country. What I say to you I make no secret of elsewhere; lately, indeed, at Rosny, I said pretty fully what I think of all this; and there is the King of Naples, who was with us, and who saw clearly our position. That prince, whom you see so broken, and who nevertheless is four years younger than I am, is a man of a good deal of sense; circumstances oblige him to be an absolute king,' (Austrian bayonets,) 'but

* The Palais Royal, constructed after the plans of Lemercier, was one of the works of his magnificent reign, and was called, during his lifetime, "*Palais Cardinal.*"

Funeste bâtiment autant que magnifique,
Ouvrage qui n'est rien qu'un effet des malheurs,
Pavillons élevés sur le débris des mœurs,
Qui causez aujourdhui la misère publique,
Ordres bien observés dans toute la fabrique
Lambris dorés et peints de divines couleurs,
Si trempés dans le sang et dans l'eau de nos pleurs,
Pour assouvir l'humeur d'un conseil tyrannique.
Pompe rouge du feu de mille embrâsemens:
Balustres, promenoirs, superflus ornemens:
Grand Portail, enrichi de piliers et de niches,
Tu portes en écrit un nom qui te sied mal,
On te devait nommer l'hôtel des mauvais riches
Avec plus de raison que—'Palais Cardinal.'

an emblem of the man, who united the habits of the prince with the ambition of the priest, and

his own inclinations would have led him differently. He has made, I assure you, some very sensible observations. By-the-by, we spoke at Rosny of some remarks of yours.'

"I said that 'I was convinced that the monarchy was falling, and that I was not less convinced that the fall of the throne would compromise for a hundred years the prosperity and the liberty of France.'

"'In afflicting myself as much as you can do,' said the Prince, 'at the conduct which the King is pursuing, I am not so frightened as you are at its probable results. There is in France a strong love of order —that France which the government will not understand, is excellent, is admirable; see how the law is respected amidst so many provocations! The experience of the Revolution (1789) is present to all; its conquests, its follies, and its crimes are detested. *I am convinced that a new Revolution would in no respects resemble that which we have seen.*'

"'Monseigneur, that is to believe in a Revolution of 1688. But when England departed from the path of legitimacy, the aristocracy remained as an element of order; with us there is no aristocracy to be called an aristocracy, and what there is of one will perish with the Bourbons; every thing will again be smoothed down to a level, and I do not think a pure democracy capable of founding any thing that is to have duration.'

"'Monsieur de Salvandy, you do not do justice to

of the time, which saw no dissimilarity in the titles "cardinal" and "courtier," this palace was

the effect of that diffusion of intelligence which follows the diffusion of fortunes. The world has completely changed since forty years; the middle classes are not all society, but they form its force, they have a constant interest in order, and they join to that knowledge which communicates the wants of a great empire that power necessary to combat and suppress bad passions. *Jacobinism is impossible where the greater portion of the community have possessions to lose.*'

"'I have always thought, Monseigneur, and I still maintain the same opinion, that it is a dangerous error to consider that property alone is the guarantee of a desire for order. Property with us is so divided that it has its multitude, envious of every superior, and inimical to every power. I should fear that that multitude, being the most numerous party, and always disposed to satisfy its hatred of the higher classes, would soon, by its levelling schemes, bring us to anarchy—if anarchy were not the commencement of the new regime.'

"'Monsieur de Salvandy, believe me, all that the country wants is the sincere establishment of a constitutional government,—this is all it asks: the evil has arrived from the impossibility, among certain persons, of accepting at once, '*et de bonne foi*,' all the results of the Revolution, and of the Charta more particularly. The faults of the last Revolution sprang from the false distribution of rank and fortune, which was united with the wretched education that characterized the

adorned with all the taste and the luxury of the seventeenth century; and combined, in a sin-

ancient régime. We have left all that behind us. My political religion consists in the belief, that with constitutional opinions all may be directed right. These principles I have always held. When an exile, at the Court of Sicily, I was asked, in order to obtain my wife, to make certain concessions. I declared that my opinions were invariable, that in those opinions I would bring up my children, and that I would do this as much for their interest as for a love of truth. The misfortune of princes is, that they do not know the people, and that they entertain and cherish ideas and opinions different from those whom they govern. This is why I gave a public education to my sons; and in every respect it has succeeded. I wished them at once to be princes and citizens. I wished that they should not deem themselves a favoured race—that they should not participate in the habits of a corrupt circle—that they should not always have before their eyes the veil of a court education:—that they should not be bound by the tastes of childhood to those interested in deceiving them, and moreover frequently deceived. Such has been my object; and I am certain that I have to congratulate myself on the course I have pursued.'

"The Duke of Orleans was at first standing; he afterwards made me sit down by his side; we were exactly behind Charles Xth, who might have heard every word we were saying."

Let us do justice to the King of the French! Henry IV. never delivered a speech which contained so much

gular manner, the avocations of the church with the pleasures of the world. It had its boudoirs, its gallery, its theatre, and its chapel.*

The ancient garden of the Palais Royal, much larger than the present one, comprehended, besides the present garden, the streets de Valois, de Montpensier, and de Beaujolais, as well as that space now occupied by the sides of the palace, which have been more recently built. Its great ornament was a large alley of mulberry-trees, old, and 'thick of leaves;' and beneath this alley's venerable shade were usually collected the idle and inquisitive of one sex, the profligate and purchaseable of another: seventeen hundred and eighty-two, that revolutionary epoch,

goodness, sense, and truth, as there is to be found in these remarks: they offer a fair justification of Louis Philippe's conduct to the family he dethroned: they would offer the best security to the people whom he governs, if we had not unfortunately so many examples of the corrupting influence of power, of the heart being changed, and the understanding blinded by a successful ambition.

* Louis XIV. gave the Palais Royal to the Duke of Orleans. In this palace have successively dwelt Richelieu, Louis XIII., Anne of Austria, Henrietta of England, and six Princes (including the present King,) of the House of Orleans.

laid low even the mulberry-trees, in spite of the songs and epigrams with which the improvement was received.* Three sides of the present square were then completed; the fourth, constructed provisionally of wood, was that singular and shabby row of stalls which we still remember, originally called '*Camp des Tartares*,' and which has but lately given way to the superb gallery constructed by the present King.

There are spots to which a certain destiny seems attached. As early as Anne of Austria the troubles of the Fronde might be said to commence at the Palais Royal. Here it was that the parliament, assembled in the royal gallery, declared in favour of the wishes of the people! and here it was, about a hundred and fifty years afterwards, that a young man (Camille Desmoulins) jumping upon one of the straw chairs, harangued the populace on the night of the famous charge of the Prince de Lambesc, and sounded the first notes of that revolution which commenced by the assault of

* It was then that the Duc d'Orleans replied to some one who asked whether he would not find the building very expensive, "*Point du tout, car tout le monde me jette la pierre.*"

the Bastille! and ended by—the expulsion of the senate. It was in the Palais Royal that the club of the Jacobins was formed; it was in the Palais Royal that its rival club of the Thermidorians was held; the centre of action, discussion, politics—every 'café' in this historical spot is sacred for its recollections and its opinions. The Café de Foy was the theatre of the Dantonists—the Café de Chartres of the Gironde. The Hundred Days had its 'café' of patriots; and the Restoration its 'café' of enthusiastic youth and dissatisfied soldiers. I do not know a better description of the kind of gentlemen who frequent this resort than is contained in the simple fact mentioned by M. de Roch, viz.—that "there is not an 'hôtel garni' in the place." The persons you meet—are a population of strollers—of wanderers from every part of Paris, and from every part of the world—of men who seek no rest but such as may be found—in a chair—who desire no information not contained—in a newspaper; no excitement beyond that which is offered by certain houses in the vicinity.

The police, by no means less punctilious since the revolution than during the pious 'régime' that it destroyed, have completely

driven away those improper ladies, who used to horrify all more decent and respectable matrons, by appearing as indecorously dressed, as if they had been going to a ball in good society. This, no doubt, has very much improved the evening company of the Palais Royal. But the most virtuous have a tidemark in their morality, and neither the 'Jesuits' nor the 'Doctrine' have allowed theirs to overflow the point at which it might do injury to the revenue. No: the gambling-house is to be open night and day to all adventurers, and the Morgue and the Treasury are filled by the same miserable contrivance.

The following passage, taken from a popular French novel, presents a picture of one of these iniquitous resources of the exchequer:—

"Enter! how bare! The walls are covered with course paper to the height of your head! The floor is dirty, and a number of straw chairs, drawn round a cloth; threadbare from the rubbing of gold, manifest a strange indifference to luxury, among those who are sacrificing themselves for its sake! Four old men with bald heads, and visages as impassive as plaster, sit round the table; and by them a young Italian, with long black hair, leans quietly on his elbows,

and appears to seek those secret presentiments which whisper so fatally to the gambler—'Yes,' 'No.' Seven or eight spectators are standing silent, motionless, and attentive, as the mobs at the Place de Grève, when the guillotine is about to fall on the neck of the victim. A tall, sour-looking man, in a threadbare coat, holding a card in one hand, a pin in another, pricks in '*rouge*' or '*noir*,' according to the turn of the card. This is your Tantalus of modern days—one of those who live upon the brink of all the pleasures of their time—this is a miser without a treasure, playing an imaginary stake; a sort of reasonable madman, who consoles himself for the misery of his fate by caressing a terrible chimera.

"Opposite the bank, one or two players, skilled in all the chances of the game, and like those thieves who are no longer frightened at the galleys, are come to make their three 'coups,' and to carry off immediately the probable winnings on which they live. An old waiter walks nonchalantly up and down the room, his arms folded, and stops now and then at the window, as if to show to the passengers beneath 'the sign of the house.' The dealer, the banker, cast upon the players that sombre look which thrills the

soul of the young gambler, and say with a hoarse voice, ' *Faites le jeu !* '*

Such are the scenes of the Palais Royal—such are the scenes of that fatal place, in which

* As there are many things untranslateable, or which would seem ridiculous in the translation, I subjoin the original forcible and fantastical description:—

" Entrez:—Quelle nudité. Les murs couverts de papier gros à hauteur d'homme, n'offrent pas une image qui puisse rafraîchir l'âme; pas même un clou pour faciliter le suicide. Le parquet est toujours malpropre. Une table ronde occupe le centre de la salle, et la simplicité des chaises de paille, pressées autour de ce tapis usé par l'or, annonce une curieuse indifférence au luxe chez ces hommes qui viennent périr là pour la fortune et pour le luxe. . . . . Quatre vieillards, à têtes chauves sont nonchalamment assis autour du tapis vert. Leurs visages de plâtre impassibles, comme ceux des diplomates révèlent des âmes blasées, des cœurs qui depuis long-tems avaient désappris de palpiter en envisageant même les biens paraphernaux d'une femme. Un jeune Italien aux cheveux noirs, au teint olivâtre, était accoudé tranquillement au bout de la table, et paraissait écouter ces pressentimens secrets qui crient fatalement à un joueur ' oui'—' non'—cette tête méridionale respirait l'or et le feu. Sept ou huit spectateurs debout, rangés de manière à former une galerie, attendaient les scènes que leur préparaient les coups du sort, les figures des acteurs, le mouvement de l'argent et des râteaux. Ces désœu-

the vice and the villainy, the industry and the arts, the force and the weakness, the power and the pleasure, the idle and voluptuous habits, the morbid and active spirit of our race—all

vrés étaient là, silencieux, immobiles, attentifs, comme est le peuple à la Grève quand le bourreau tranche une tête. Un grand homme sec en habit rapé tenait un registre d'une main, et de l'autre une épingle pour marquer les passes de *la rouge* ou de *la noire*. C'était un de ces Tantales modernes, qui vivent en marge de toutes les jouissances de leur siècle; un de ces avares sans trésor qui jouent en idée une mise imaginaire; espèce de fou raisonnable, se consolant de ses misères en caressant une épouvantable chimère—agissant enfin avec le vice et le danger comme les jeunes prêtres avec Dieu quand ils lui disent des messes blanches.

"Puis, en face de la banque un ou deux de ces fins spéculateurs experts aux chances du jeu et semblables à d'anciens forçats qui ne s'effraient plus des galères, étaient venus là pour hasarder trois coups et emporter immédiatement le gain probable dont ils vivaient. Un vieux garçon de salle se promenait nonchalamment, les bras croisés, regardant aux carreaux par intervalles comme pour montrer aux passans sa plate figure en guise d'enseigne. Le tailleur et le banquier venaient de jeter sur les positeurs ce regard blême qui les tue, et disaient d'une voix grêle "FAITES LE JEU!"—*Balzac, Peau de Chagrin.*—(I have translated into the present tense, and left out one or two sentences.)*

* See Appendix.

that advances and instructs, and degrades and disgraces the age in which we live—are found side by side together. Must civilization be accompanied by its curses? . . . The electricity which creates the thunder, guides us to the pole, and the same terrible energy which disturbs the world, has carried knowledge and religion over its deep and mysterious ways.

THE QUAIS AND THE TUILERIES.

Quais, irregularity—Diversity—Paris on a fine day a picture of modern Civilization—Business, crowd—different from the Quays of the Thames—Powder-mill replaced by the Pantheon—Tuileries—Alterations—The arts should be as inviolable as the laws—Tuileries last refuge of the aristocracy—The population of the Tuileries—Remarkable as the birth of a new age—Description of that age—The Tuileries still represent it.

The four great features in the physiognomy of Paris, are the Boulevards, the Palais Royal, the Tuileries, and the Quais. The Quais, though animated differently, are perhaps more animated than the Boulevards. Here again, too, you see the charm of variety and irregularity; what so irregular as those islands jutting out into the Seine, and mingling their low and dirty hovels with the splendid palaces of the Tuileries and the Louvre?—what so irregular as that variety of roofs, which, standing on any eminence, you

behold rising everywhere around you, one above the other, roofs of all shapes, mansions and domes of all sizes?—what so diversified as that mixture of boats and carriages,—of pavement and of water,—of masts and men,—of washer-women and soldiers,—of stalls, temples, manufactories and mausoleums? Paris, on a fine day, seen from one of the bridges, is a picture of modern civilization: brilliant, confused, gay, various; but the picture (and such is the colouring of our times) is a picture in water colours; the shades, bright, are not deep: there is not the darkness and the force which we admire in the paintings of Rembrandt and Murillo: there is not the richness that a southern sun spreads around you; but here, as elsewhere, there is a gaiety that veils the northern nature of the clime.

As the population of the Boulevards is the lounging population of Paris, the population of the Quais is rife with Parisian business and activity: as the one breathes a certain ease, the other moves under the spirit of agitation; everybody here has something to do, something to sell, something to buy, somewhere to go; and behind this living wave, ebbing and flowing,—this moving mass of white caps, dark bonnets, red feathers, tattered hats, and gleaming

casques—rises darkly the old city, and the stately Faubourg St. Germain. And there is Ste. Geneviève! and there is Notre Dame! the tomb of Voltaire and the monument of de Sully—uniting the present with the past,—the twelfth century with the eighteenth,—the power of literature with the dominion of the church. One finds a happiness and a glow about the squalid river of the Seine which all our wealth and grandeur have not bestowed upon the magnificent Thames. The broad quays which ennoble the aspect of this miserable stream betray its poverty,—its poverty as the canal of commerce,—as the carrier and ministrant of that wealth which creates the magazine and fills the warehouse. But there is another wealth, another greatness; that greatness which arises from the cultivation of the arts, from the knowledge and the love of the beautiful; a greatness which the traveller loves and which the statesman should cherish; a greatness which is the greatness of France, and before which you bow as you see the Louvre on the site of the coal-wharf, and find the powder-mill replaced by the Pantheon. And now look to the palace, which, according to the fable of the Dervise, has been of late years a caravanserai for so many travellers! to the palace where kings and water-carriers have

so lately revelled!* A short time since, and Paris was alarmed by a long line of scaffolding, behind which a conspiracy was supposed planned

* "La chambre à coucher du roi était pleine de porteurs d'eau, qui se faisaient rebondir en riant sur le matelas de son lit."—*Chron. de la Révolution de Juillet* 1830.

Francis the first bought the Tuileries, then a house between court and garden, and in the neighbourhood of a spot where tiles ("*tuiles*") were manufactured for his mother; Catherine de Medicis purchased the buildings and the ground in the vicinity, and laid the foundations of a new edifice, which, if the original plans of Bullan and De Lorme had been adopted, would have been even larger than the present one. But the Pavilion in the middle and the light buildings on each side of it were all which formed at that time, and for many years afterwards, the Château of the Tuileries. It was not till the reign of Louis XIV. that the Tuileries were completed by Leveau. Before this time the garden was separated from the palace by a street called 'Rue des Tuileries.' This garden at that time contained a menagerie, an orangery, and a preserve of game for the royal '*chasse*.' It was defended by a high wall, a moat, and a bastion. Le Nôtre changed all this, surrounding the garden with two terraces planted with trees, that one by the Seine, and that one by the Rue de Rivoli, called from the Old Convent 'Terrace des Feuillans.' Here ran the gardens of the 'Feuillans' and the 'Capucins,' and a long court which led to the old 'manèges' of the Tuileries. On this royal and religious spot was erected the edifice which saw the destruction

and executing against the liberties of the people. At length the plot was exposed; where we presumed ramparts, we found a flower-garden: the monarchy this time merely exposed itself to the reproach of bad taste; "the charta insulted was the charta of le Nôtre;" and the 'chef-d'œuvre' of Philibert De Lorme, too, has been defaced, but—not with impunity. The young man, yonder, stretching out his hand with vehemence and vociferating impetuously to his companion,—and the old man there, with arms folded and shoulders uplifted, regard the filling up of that colonade as something worse than a '*fournée*' of peers, and declare that "*in France the arts should be as inviolable as the laws.*." One peculiarity distinguishes these gardens, the last refuge of aristocratical pretensions, the people —the people without a hat and a coat—are forbidden to appear in them. A custom will always survive a constitution, and the same population that in the three days of July stormed the Tuileries in defiance of an army, retreated on

of the monarchy and the church,—the edifice in which sat the constitutional assembly, the legislative assembly, and the conventional assembly.—Occupied by the Five Hundred during the Directory, it shared in the new changes, was destroyed with its masters, and afforded Bonaparte the space on which he built the Rue de Rivoli.

the first of August before the solitary sentinel stationed at their gate.

The population of the Tuileries varies naturally with the hour and the heat. The morning is for the sedate and serious old gentleman; the noon for the '*bonne*' and the children; the afternoon for the more ambitious crowd, in whose midnight dreams yonder walks and orange trees are strangely mingled. There is the theatre of their glory!—the theatre on which a new bonnet is to be tried, a new compliment to be adventured; there is the stage where the elegance of a mistress is to be displayed, the reputation of a rival to be destroyed. But if the Tuileries are remarkable, they are remarkable—not only as the lounge of nursery maids, and of that modern race of time-killers who go to these gardens, rather for the sake of being seen than of being amused: they are remarkable—as the birth of a new epoch, which they still represent,—the epoch of gallantry and of the arts,—of Catherine de Medicis, and of Marot—of Marot, who said with so much grace,

"Si j'étais roi d'Asie,
J'aimerais mieux quitter mon sceptre que ma mie:
L'homme peut aisément dans ce mortel séjour,
Vivre sans un royaume et non pas sans amour:
Ah! le jour et la nuit coulent pleins de tristesse
A celui, fût-il Dieu, qui languit sans maîtresse."

Then wrote Rabelais and Montaigne,—then commenced the assemblies which intermingled the two sexes,—the royal and courtly assemblies which Brantôme defends as a more honest system of libertinage than that which flourished under the Roi des Ribauds,*—then Lescot revived the science of architecture in the Louvre, and Goujon the graceful art of Sculpture,—and bishops proud of their disobedient beards,† and ladies under the voluptuous sanctuary of the mask,‡ filled the churches, loitered on the new

* Tu voudrais scavoir qu'estoit il plus louable au roy ou recevoir une si honneste troupe de dames et damoiselles en sa cour ou bien de suivre les erres des anciens roys du temps passé qui admettaient tant de p. . . ordinairement en leur suite, desquelles le roy des Ribauds avait charge et soin de leur faire despartir quartier et logis, et là commander de leur faire justice si on leur fesait quelques torts.

. . . Et que ces Dames étant trèz nettes et saines (*au moins aucunes* ne pouvaient &c. &c.)—Vide Brantôme, t. v.

† The custom of long beards, which commenced under Francis I., who allowed his beard to grow in order to hide a wound, became general. Adopted by the clergy, it was forbidden by the Parliament, the respectable magistracy of which manfully persevered in shaving.

‡ Masks, which came into fashion towards the end of the reign of Francis I., were intended to preserve the complexion, and persevered in for the sake of other conveniences.

quay, or circulated in the dark and narrow streets peopled with magicians, and sorcerers, and devils:*—epoch celebrated for the invention of silver forks and silk stockings,—epoch of necromancy, of idolatry, of pleasure and of religion,—epoch when you might have seen the farce "*Du débat d'un jeune moine et d'un viel gend'arme par devant le Dieu Cupidon pour une fille*"—epoch, when the imagination, still given to magic and devotion, was beginning to decorate debauch! and cruelty and lust, passions which nature seems to have intermingled, had each their horrible sacrifices, and their pompous and voluptuous fêtes; while now the mistress of Henry II.,† now the mother of Charles IX., demanded holocausts for their revels, and mingled the accents of pleasure with the cries for protestant blood. And with the arts came the vices of Italy: robed in sackcloth, the chapelet at his neck, the sovereign of France‡ paraded the streets of Paris; or, dressed as a woman, his breast open and bare, and adorned with neck-

* De l'Estoile in speaking of a supposed magician, hung in the reign of Charles IX., says, that according to that magician, there were thirty thousand sorcerers then in Paris.

† Diane de Poitiers.

‡ Henry III.—De l'Estoile, vol. iv.

laces, his hair dyed, his eyelids and his face besmeared and painted, delivered himself up in the secret recesses of his palace to the infamies of his 'Mignons;' amongst whom (wild mixture of debauch and devotion!) he distributed the relics and the blessed beads solicited from Rome. Lo! by the side of the bonfire, the banquet!—by the side of the temple dedicated to the holy worship of the meek Jesus, the column* consecrated to the impieties of profane astrology! And yet when Catherine from yonder height looked down on the masked and mysterious city at her feet, she saw the same people—here occupied with magic—there assassinating from superstition—she saw the same people that we see now—that we saw but a very short time ago—dressed in the costume of the Carnaval,† and pulling down the palace of their archbishop. "July 4, 1548, the scholars armed, rushed fiercely upon the Abbaye St. Germain des

* Erected by Catherine de Medicis, for her astrological observations.

† The most formidable, and certainly the most picpicturesque of modern 'émeutes.' Here you saw the mob pulling down the 'fleurs de lys,' and ransacking the episcopal palace; here you saw the harlequin and the domino, and all the buffooneries of a Parisian masquerade.

Prés, besieged it, made breaches in its walls, broke down the trees, the trellices, demolished the neighbouring houses. In January, 1549—in May, 1550—similar seditions; but the scholars *were not alone* on these occasions; the working classes, (*ouvriers*,) the shop-boys, (*varlets de boutiques*,) joined with the mob. In 1557 the troubles became yet more serious." . . . . The same troubles preceded the reign of Louis XIV:—for every period of improvement is a period of agitation; and the brave and capricious populace, the rebellious and tumultuous youth of Paris, ever ready for battle, ever eager for change, ever impatient of rule, receiving the character of each era of civilization, have always retained their own—have always been valiant, fickle, insolent, and gay.

It was amidst this mixture of gross and barbarous luxury, of abandoned licence, of mysterious rites, of terrible and sanguinary superstition, that the arts, as I have said, arose; and that love, no longer the guerdon of adventurous chivalry, became the prize of the gentle smile, the whispered compliment, and the graceful carriage. Born of this epoch, the Tuileries, I repeat, represent its character. The ghosts of the Medici may still rove complacently through their gardens, and amidst the statues of ancient

Greece, move a crowd that would have done honour to the groves of Epicurus.

I have been anxious to give a general idea of the aspect of Paris: as it is in such descriptions, as well as in more philosophical disquisitions, that the character of a people is to be found; but I have no intention to speak of all that is interesting or curious in this metropolis. Who has not been fatigued with details of the Jardin des Plantes, the Luxembourg, the Louvre, and the numberless 'et cætera' of modern tourists?

DIVISIONS.

Divided in 1702; in 1789, by the Convention—More divided by manners than laws—Description of the Chaussée d'Antin—The Faubourg St. Germain—The Quartier of the Students—The Marais—Faubourg St. Antoine—The old city.

This city has undergone a variety of divisions. In 1702 it was divided by Louis XIV. into twenty 'quartiers' or districts; a division, which did not suffice in '89, when it was necessary to make a new distribution, in order to elect the Deputies of the States-General. Finally, by a decree of the Convention, Paris was formed into twelve municipalities, each of which contained four 'quartiers;' and this arrangement is still maintained. But it is not so much by its laws, as by its manners, that Paris is divided. There are districts differing as widely, one from the other, in the ideas, the habits, and the appearance of their inhabitants, as in the height and size of their buildings, or the width and cleanliness of

their streets. The Chaussée d'Antin breathes the atmosphere of the Bourse, the Palais Royal, and the Boulevards; it is the district of bankers, stock-brokers, generals of the empire, rich trades-people—and represents May-fair and Russell-square intermingled. The Chaussée d'Antin is the district fullest of life, most animated, most rife with the spirit of progress, of change, of luxury, of elegance. Here you will find all new buildings, all new arcades, all new passages; here first appear all new inventions; here are first opened all new shops; here are given the richest and most splendid balls; here you meet a race who go to bed late, frequent the theatres, fill the opera, whitewash their houses every year, and new paint their carriages; here you see the insolence of 'parvenu' power—the contempt of the thick lip and the turned-up nose—contempt which is adequately returned by the possessor of yon dim and vast hotel in the Faubourg St. Germain—for we are come to another district—to the district of the long and silent street; of the meagre repast and the large and well-trimmed garden; of the great court-yard—of the broad and dark staircase. This is the 'quartier' inhabited by the Administrations—by the old nobility; this is the 'quartier' which manifests no signs of change, no widening and straitening of

streets, no piercing of passages: it hardly possesses a 'restaurant' of note, and has but one unfrequented theatre. And now, not far from where we are, is the 'quartier' of the students; 'quartier' at once poor and popular; amidst which—monument legitimate to the district, inhabited by that brave and exalted youth, who knew how to vanquish for an opinion in July, to suffer for an opinion in June—monument legitimate to the district, inhabited by those eloquent and illustrious professors who give to France a glory superior to that of arms— rises the Pantheon! And yonder is the Observatory, and the *Jardin des Plantes*, and the memory of Cuvier.

Then there is the Marais—the retreat of the old-fashioned judge and the old-fashioned merchant, where the manners have been changed almost as little as the houses, by the philosophy of the eighteenth century—no carriages, no equipages, not a solitary cabriolet in the streets! All is still, silent; you are amongst the customs of the provincial village and the grand hotels of the time of Louis XIII. Then there is the Faubourg St. Antoine—residence of those immense masses which an event so mysteriously produces—of those masses that reigned under Robespierre, and which Bonaparte, after Waterloo, refused to summon to his

assistance. And behold! the ancient city of Paris "the dear Lutetia" of Julian surrounded by the Seine, and filled by a vast and wretched population! There, proud amidst the sordid roofs around them, rise the graceful and splendid towers of Notre-Dame, that temple of the twelfth* century, which in spite of the Madeleine has not been surpassed in the nineteenth!—and there, is the Hôtel Dieu, the antique hospital to which Philippe Auguste gave the straw that had covered the royal chambers of the palace!—and there, is the Palais de Justice, where sat the Parliament of Broussel, remarkable in the Chronicle of De Retz!

* Built by Maurice de Sully in 1163.

ET CÆTERA.

&c. &c. &c. &c. &c.

Though a nation perpetually changes, the features remain the same—Letter of a Sicilian gentleman in the time of Louis XIV.—The likeness between Paris then and Paris now—We see what new ideas and laws have changed—What they have left unaltered—The character of the French displayed in different circumstances—Aspect of Paris in many respects the same—Manners of people illustrated by facts—What the Revolution did—The manners of the old aristocracy have had greater effect upon the manners of the middling classes, than the manners of the middling classes upon those of the old aristocracy—The personages who have disappeared—What you now see in their places—Many places where people may live upon as little, no place where they live so *magnificently* upon a little as at Paris—Mons. Bontin—Few rich in Paris, few poor—The climate—The hero of a fine day—The lion—The student—Future of Paris—The past.

I CONFESS, for my own part, that I have often been struck by the resemblance which Time,

(that touches and alters, piece by piece, almost all that relates to the existence of a people,) still leaves between century and century. During the life of a nation, as during the life of an individual, the body changes more than once every particle of its materials, but the features, the proportions, the likeness remain; and, as on looking to the dial, we discover from the hour which is marked the course which the hand has had to run, so in regarding a country with intelligence, we may divine its history from the newspapers on our table. The letter of a Sicilian gentleman gives the following description of Paris in the time of Louis XIV. "It is no exaggeration," says he, "to remark that Paris is one vast hotel. You see every where 'cafés,' 'estaminets,' taverns, and the frequenters of taverns. The kitchens smoke at all times, and at all times eating is going on. The luxury of Paris is something extraordinary and enormous —its wealth would enrich three cities. On all sides you are surrounded by rich and splendid shops, where every thing is sold that you don't want, as well as every thing which you require. All would wish to live splendidly, and the poorest gentleman, jealous of his neighbour, would live as well as he does. Ribbons, looking-glasses, are things, without which the

French could not live. Fashion is the veritable demon of the nation; one sex is as vain and as desirous of pleasure as the other; and if the women never stir without a mirror, the men also may be seen arranging and combing their wigs publicly in the streets. There is not a people so imperious and so audacious as these Parisians; they are proud of their very fickleness, and say that they are the only persons in the world who can break their promises with honour. In vain you look for modesty, wisdom, persons who have nothing to do, (*a Sicilian is speaking,*) or men who have grown old. But if you do not find modesty, wisdom, or old age, you find obsequiousness, gallantry, and politeness. Go into a shop, and you are cajoled into buying a thousand things you never dreamt of, before you obtain the article you want. The manner of the higher classes is something charming—there are masters who teach civility, and a pretty girl the other day offered to *sell me compliments.** The women dote upon little dogs. They command their husbands and obey nobody. They dress with grace. We see them at all hours, and they dote on conversation.

* There is still, however, I believe, a 'Professeur de Maintien' at the 'Conservatoire Royal de Musique.'

As to love—they love, and listen to their lovers, without much difficulty—but they never love long, and they never love enough. I have not seen a jealous husband, or a man who thinks himself unhappy and dishonoured because his wife is unfaithful.

"During the 'Carême' the people go in the morning to a sermon, in the evening to a comedy, with equal zeal and devotion. The Abbés are in great number, and the usual resource of ladies in affliction. The young men are perpetually in the racket-court—the old men pass their time at cards, at dice, and in talking over the news of the day. The Tuileries are the resort of the idle and those who wish, without taking any trouble about it, to be amused. It is there that you laugh, joke, make love, talk of what is doing in the city, of what is doing in the army; decide, criticise, dispute, deceive. Chocolate, tea, and coffee are very much in vogue; but coffee is preferred to either tea or chocolate; it is thought a remedy for low spirits. A lady learnt the other day that her husband had been killed in battle. 'Ah, unhappy that I am!' said she, 'quick, bring me a cup of coffee!' The inhabitants of Paris are lodged upon the sides of the bridges, and even

upon the tops and tiles of the houses Although it does not rain often, you can't help walking in the mud, for all the filth of the town is thrown out into the streets, which it is impossible for the magistrates, however strict, to keep clean. The ladies never go out but on mules—the gentlemen walk in large high boots. The hackney-coaches are old, battered, and covered with mud. The horses which draw them have no flesh on their bones. The coachmen are brutal; they have a voice so hoarse, and so terrible, and the smacking of their whips so horribly increases the noise, that no sooner is the rattling machine in movement, than you imagine all the furies at work in giving to Paris the sounds of the infernal regions."

Such was Paris above a century ago; let any one reflect upon the immense changes that have taken place since that time. Let any one reflect that we have had since then, Law, Voltaire, Rousseau—the orgies and bankruptcy of the Regent, the reign of Louis XV., the decapitation of Louis XVI., the wars and terrors of the republic, the tyranny of the empire, the long struggle of the restoration,—let any one reflect, that since then have been born the doctrines of equality and liberty, which will probably change the destinies of the world. Let

any one, I say, reflect on all this, and tell me as he reads the passage I have cited, whether the resemblance is not strong between the past and the present?—whether in looking at Paris under Louis Philippe he cannot trace all the main features of its picture taken during the time of Louis XIV.?

Paris is certainly altered; the ladies no longer ride on mules, nor do the gentlemen arrange their headdress in the public streets. The shopkeepers have lost their extraordinary civility, the 'noblesse' have lost the exquisite polish of their ancient manners; there are no longer masters to teach you civility, nor young ladies who sell you compliments. The Parisians under a serious government are not so frivolous as of yore: the vanity then confined to the toilette and the drawing-room has taken a prouder flight, and prances on the 'Champ de Mars,' or harangues in the Chambre des Députés. The passions are the same, but a new machine works them into a different shape, and produces another manufacture from the same materials. We see the change that other laws and other ideas produce, and the popular spirit which has elevated the character of the people,* has civilized the hack-

* "We see," says Mercier, who wrote just previous to the revolution of eighty-nine, "we see at every

ney coaches, widened the streets, and saved two hundred per annum of the lives of his majesty's subjects.* We see what new ideas and new laws have changed, but we see also how much new ideas and laws have left unaltered. The wish to outvie, the desire to please, the fondness for decoration, the easy transition from one passion or one pursuit to another, the *amour propre*, the fickleness of the Parisian, are still as visible as they were under the Grand Monarque: while, alas! the morals of society (if I may venture to say so) even yet remind you of the saying of Montesquieu, "Que le Français ne parle jamais de sa femme, parcequ'il a peur d'en parler devant les gens qui la connaissent mieux que lui."

I have said that the Parisian is almost as fickle as he was. During the old hierarchy of ranks and professions he could be fickle in little but his pleasures. The career which conducted him to the grave was traced at his cradle, and if he were born a footman, all he could hope was—to die a butler. The life of

step we take in the mud, that *the people who go on foot have no share in the government.*"

* Two hundred was the average calculation of persons run over in the streets of Paris: this species of amusement was much in fashion during the latter days of the old régime.

the Parisian has changed; you may see it in the aspect of Paris itself. A new spirit,—a spirit of commerce, of gain, of business, has made the city and its citizens different from what they were: the Bourse is the monument of the epoch: even the firework and the dance have been driven from their old resort, and lo! Beaujon and Tivoli* are destroyed by a building speculation! But the same character which presided over the amusements has entered into the affairs of this volatile and light-hearted people, and among the causes of that distress so severely felt in 1830, we had to remark the careless, unreflecting, and variable disposition which induced the capitalist now to enter into a business with which he was wholly unacquainted, now to transport his capital, suddenly and without reflection, from one branch of industry to another;—impatient of delay, uncalculating of consequences, and incessantly tormented by the unproductive appetite for novelty and adventure.† *Du reste*, Paris might still pass for a vast hotel. There are eight hundred 'cafés,' and one thousand 'restaurants,' and here you are served on silver, amidst gilding, and painting, and glass; while the 'garçon' who says, '*Que voulez-vous, Monsieur?*'

* Public gardens.

† M. Beres, "Causes du Malaise, 1831."

presents a 'carte' with upwards of two hundred articles,* and lo! there are still 'cafés' and 'estaminets,' taverns and the frequenters of taverns; and it is at night, as you see these places brilliant with light, filled with guests, surrounded by loungers, that you catch the character of Paris, such as it is, such as it was a century ago, when tempted by Law with those prints of Louisiana,† in which a people, as the '*beau idéal*' of happiness, were represented indulging themselves in the sun; rich without labour, and deriving most of their pleasures from their senses. In this city there are one hundred and ninety-

* In 1819 Paris received 801,524 hectolitres de vin, 70,819 oxen, 6,481 cows, 67,719 calves, 329,000 sheep, 64,822 pigs and wild boars, 1,267,364 kilogrammes of dry cheese, and above 479,000 pounds of bread per day, or 113,880,000 kilogrammes per year; add to this 323,610 hectolitres of potatoes. Besides which were sold chickens, ducks, game, &c. to the amount of 7,601,402 francs, butter to the amount of 7,105,531, eggs 3,676,302 francs.—See note (in Appendix, under Paris,) for principal articles of consumption before the revolution of eighty-nine, and for a bill of fare at a restaurants'.

† One of the devices of Law to favour the success of his scheme was to publish these prints, addressed to the passions and dispositions of the populace he seduced.

two* places of public amusement,—of amusement for the people, without counting the innumerable 'guinguettes' at the barriers, where the populace usually hold their Sunday revels. To those who are fond of facts the manners of Paris may be thus described:—

There are twenty thousand persons every night at the theatres: five public libraries are constantly full; and one hundred cabinets de lecture. You will find about an equal number of celebrated dancing masters, and of celebrated teachers of mathematics;† and the municipality pays *one-third more for its fêtes than it does for its religion.*‡

A passion for enjoyment, a contempt for life without pleasure, a want of religion and morality fill the gambling house, the morgue and the 'enfans trouvés. Have such been the effects of the revolution? . . . . No; the revolution has had little to do with these misfortunes. Before the revolution there were

* A calculation in 1817, since which they are much augmented.

† I have taken this from "Le Livre d'Adresses." "Livre," says Fontenelle, "qui contient le plus de vérités.

‡ See expenses of the city of Paris.

forty thousand prostitutes;* there are now six thousand. Before the revolution there were fifteen licensed 'maisons de jeu,' there are now eight. "Before the revolution," observes Mercier, "all the money of the provinces passed to the capital, and all the money of the capital passed to its courtezans." Before the revolution, says Chamfort, I remember to have seen a man who quitted the ladies at the opera, because they had *no more honour than the ladies of the world.* It is not then to be lamented that political events have changed the manners of the Parisians so much, but that they have changed their manners so little; this is the subject for lamentation. There is a change, however, to which political events have no doubt contributed, but which, during the later years of the old government, time and the character of the French were tending to produce. The gradual fusion of the different classes, which ancient usages had kept apart, would, without the shock that blended and confused all ranks violently together, have naturally given to one set of persons many of the ideas and habits of another. You see no longer in Paris a nobility that lives upon credit, and boasts of its

* This calculation is given by Mirabeau.

ruin with ostentation.* The families that still inhabit the great hotels of the Faubourg St. Germain are more orderly, more economical, more moral in their habits than heretofore. But, as in a voluptuous people, the habits of the lower classes mount up to the higher, so in a vain nation the habits of the higher classes descend more naturally to the lower. The manners of the old aristocracy then have had a greater effect upon the manners of the middling classes, than the manners of the middling classes have had upon those of the aristocracy. Among the nobility of the stock exchange, the office, and the counter, there reigns a luxury at present, which, sometimes sighed for by such persons, was rarely seen of old. If you want a proof of this, you have the best,—you have the theatres, where the old scenery, the scenery which represented the apartments of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie of the ancient régime, too costly for the first, too meagre for the last, is obliged to be laid aside, in order to give place to new decorations, where Monsieur Magnon and Monsieur de Montmorency, the rich 'notaire' and the rich 'noble,' equally display an elegant opulence

* On vit sur crédit . . . on publie avec ostentation qu'on est ruiné. . . —See Mercier Tableau de Paris.

unaccompanied by pomp. Wealth has lost its ancient and aristocratic splendour, but, in becoming more citizen-like in its air, it has become more complete and finished in its details. "There was greater state in my time among the rich," said an old gentleman to me the other day, "more horses, more plate, more servants, —but the table-cloth was not so fine and so clean, the rooms were not so well lighted. The 'bourgeoisie,' however, were a different race,— they lived frugally and laid by their money, not with the idea of becoming gentlemen themselves, but with the hope and expectation that their great grandchildren might become so. People rose gradually; the son of a shopkeeper purchased a 'charge,' his son purchased one higher, and thus by degrees the family which had begun at the shop rose to the magistracy and the Parliament." The diffusion of knowledge, the division of fortunes, have descended and spread tastes, formerly more exaggerated and more confined. The few have lost a habit of extravagance, —the many have gained a habit of expense. There is a smaller number of persons who squander away their fortune,—there is a smaller number of persons who save. In this, as in every thing else, the striking characteristic of Paris,— of Paris in 1834,—is the kind of universal like-

ness that reigns throughout it. The great mass of Parisians (whether we observe their habits, their manners, or their language) are so many casts struck from the same die.

The grand seigneur on his charger, covered with pearls, and dressed in a coat that cost him the price of an election (57,000 francs)* was seen no more after the early days of the reign of Louis XIV. The archbishop with his ecclesiastic pomp,—the courtier with his coach and six, his splendid liveries and his running footmen, disappeared shortly after '89.—The marshal of the empire with his fierce familiarity, his prancing horses and his military magnificence bade adieu to Paris in 1817.—The old provincial noble, stiff in the rattling carriage magnificently empanelled, proud of his long genealogy, his written discourse, the smile of the minister, and the praise of the 'Quotidienne,' has vanished from the streets since 1830;—and lo! before you, are the almost undistinguishable mass of—eighty thousand national guards, and fifteen thousand electors! In this community are confounded journalists, generals, bankers, barbers, the richest capitalist and the poorest patentee,—all classes are comprised

* See Bassompierre, t. i, p. 201.

in one immense middle class,—a middle class not, like the middle class of England, merely occupied in making money, and born of parents who have spent their lives in the same pursuit,—but a middle class of all degrees and all professions,—a middle class that does not stand between the gentry and the people, but between the mob and the monarch. In the streets, the walks, the theatres,—this class,—sauntering on the boulevards, —laughing loud at the Variétés—undressed at the opera—spreads everywhere its own easy and unceremonious air; and Paris is fashioned to its habits, as it was formerly to the habits of the spendthrift 'noble' and the sober 'bourgeois;' and the same causes that have carried more seriousness into one portion of society have carried more amusement into another. Few are poor,—few are rich; many are anxious to enjoy; and everything is contrived to favour this combination of poverty and pleasure. There are many places where a person can *live* upon as little, but there is no place where a person can *live so magnificently* upon a little as Paris. It is not the necessaries that are cheap, but the superabundancies. Monsieur Bontin, an old bachelor, whose few remaining locks are carefully adjusted, prefers enjoying his rent of eighty napoleons a year in idleness, to gaining six times as much by an

occupation. You conclude immediately that M. Bontin is a man who has acquired in the world the best rules of philosophy, that he is a sample of unsophisticated tastes, and that it is precisely the same thing to him whether he dine upon a 'suprême de volaille' at the restaurants, or crunch a hard piece of dry bread in solitary discomfort. Here is the mistake—Monsieur Bontin dines not at Very's, but at La Place des Petits Pères;—this is all the difference: He pays twenty-two sous, instead of eight francs, for his soup, his two dishes, his wine and his desert. You say the meat is bad, the wine is sour, the desert is meagre,—it may be so; he does not enter into these details. His dinner is composed of the same number of dishes, and has the *same appearance* that it would have if he were six times as rich. This is all he knows, and with this he is perfectly contented. Does he fancy a bath to quicken his flagging pulse, and flatter himself into the belief that he is not yet what should be called aged? Do you suppose that he is to abstain from this bath because he is poor? No; he is merely to abstain from the Bains Chinois where he would pay three francs, and go to the Bains rue Montmartre, where he has the same portion of warm water for ten 'sous.' Is he of an amorous propensity? He sighs not, it is

possible, in the 'foyer' and the 'coulisses.' He repudiates from his midnight dreams the voluptuousness of the opera dancer, the '*agacerie*' of the actress; he seeks not his 'bonne fortune' at the banker's ball, or the duchess's '*conversazione*'—but he inspires with his flame the fair 'lampiste' opposite; or, reposes more languidly in the easy arms of the fair fringemaker,* whose aërian habitation is approximate to his own. Has he that incongruity of disposition which distinguished our roving forefathers,† holds he in equal abomination the quiet of his 'quartier' and the exercise of his legs,—and is he compelled to choose either dread alternative, because to him neither horse, nor groom, nor cabriolet, appertains? Heaven forbid! neither does he call to the cabriolet or the hackney-coach on the stand, which, in the first place, would be an exertion, and the next, an extravagance. No; he abides inertly at his door, with three-pence in his hand, and the first omnibus that passes transports him from the Jardin des Plantes to the Rue de Rivoli.‡ Paris, we know, even in these

* A class very numerously circulated throughout the topmost regions of Paris.

† Mirâ diversitate naturæ cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem.—*Tac.*

‡ That is, from one extremity of Paris to the other.

times of civilization, is but miserably furnished with one necessary convenience. Do not let our poverty-stricken Petronius complain! The magnificent 'Vespasienne'* anticipates his wants, and supplies the deficiency which the architect has left in his humble dwelling. What is denied to him? Is there a passion he cannot indulge?—even that passion of the rich man, the strongest perchance that the rich man possesses —the passion which filled the pension-list of Louis XVI., and has crippled the pride of our nobility? Is he deprived of its indulgence? can he not ruin himself if he pleases? can he not throw his fortune avariciously away with piles of accumulated gold before his eyes? Here the state provides for his desires, and the gambling-house and the lottery-ticket are accommodated to the ambitious prodigality of his miserable purse. I said that few in Paris are rich, few poor. No workman employed gains upon an average less than about eight hundred francs per annum. Hardly any workman, willing to work, is without employment; and the average income of each Parisian, taking one with the other, has been considered one thousand francs. On this fact reposes the equality which strikes

* Des commodités ambulantes! . . . .

us, and the reign of that middle class, whose dominion and whose aspect I have described. This income of one thousand francs* Mr. Millot has divided, and according to his calculation—the washerwoman costs the Parisian more than the schoolmaster; the new-year's gift more than the accoucheur; the theatre twice as much as the nurse; the librarian and bookseller half as much as the theatre; the bath the same as the bookseller and librarian; and the money spent in luxury and amusements considerably more than that which is expended in the purchase of fuel, the dearest article of Parisian existence. Nor let it be thought that Parisian gaiety is owing entirely to a Parisian climate! They who are now watching the weather-glass in our land of fogs, may like to know that the Parisians themselves have, in the way of weather, something to complain of.

Paris has in the year (on an average of twenty years) but one hundred and twenty-six days tolerably fine.*

* 234 days of cold damp wind.
142 of rain.
180 of fog.
148 obscure (couverts.)
181 cloudy.
58 of frost.
12 of snow.

But what may not be said of these one hundred and twenty-six days! They contain the history of France. The sun shines; and behold that important personage who has so frequently decided the destiny of Paris! See him in his black and besmeared 'blouse,' his paper cap, and his green apron. There he is on the quais, on the Boulevards, in the Palais Royal; wherever Paris is more essentially Paris—there he is, laughing, running, shouting, idling, eating. There he is, at the fête, at the funeral, at the bridal, at the burial, above all—at the Revolution. Hark, as he cries "*Vive la France! vive la liberté!*" And he rushes on the bayonet, he jumps upon the cannon, he laughs at death—he fears nothing—but a shower of rain; and was ever found invincible until Marshal Lobau appeared against him,—with a water-engine. Such is the 'gamin' of Paris, who, in common with the gods, enjoys the privilege of perpetual youth. Young at the 'League,' young at the 'Fronde,' young in 1789, young in 1830; always young and always first when there is frolic or adventure; for the character of the Parisian is the character of youth; gay, careless, brave at all ages; he is more than ever gay, and careless, and brave, when he is young.*

* It is thus that the boy, taking with superior energy

Such is the 'gamin' of Paris; and in spite of his follies and his fickleness, there is something in the rags darkened by gunpowder, in the garment torn by the sword, and pierced by the ball, that a foreigner respects. But who is that young man, fantastically attired, a buffoon at the carnival, a jockey at the race-course—the beloved of prostitutes and parasites, gorged with the gluttony of pleasure, besmeared with the dirt of brothels and debauch? Who is that modern Polemon to whom philosophy would address herself in vain?—who is that "*bourgeois Bassompièrre*," that "*rentier Richelieu*," who imitates the vices without having the wit, the arrogance, without having the nobility, of a bygone age; who might be the 'roué' of the regent but for his dullness—the courtier of Louis XV. but for his vulgarity—who thinks to disguise the stupidity of his ideas under the coarseness of his language, and to illustrate the sordidness of his birth by the glare of his extravagances?†

the universal direction, never fails to be at the head of every Parisian movement.

† Such is the type of one of that clique of young men, vulgarly called "lions," whose lives are spent on the Boulevards, in the Bois de Boulogne, at the theatre, the gambling-house, and the brothel. Their conversation is an account of their disgusting orgies;—their vulgarity, their bad taste, their ostentatious and licen-

At least there was talent and intelligence among the '*élégans*' of Versailles; and the force and the character which they wanted at the court they found on the scaffold.

But let us turn from those windows where you see light and music, and champagne, and tumult, to yon dim and learned square, overshadowed by the Sorbonne! There, opposite the miserable building, where Rousseau dreamt of Heloise, in the arms of his 'grisette' (Therese,) there is a small but clean and neat 'restaurant.' The name over the door is *Flekoteau*—name sacred to the early dinners of the wise and eloquent of France. Enter between three and four o'clock, and take your seat at one of the small tables, the greater number of which are already occupied. To your right there is a pale young man: his long fair hair, falling loosely over his face, gives an additional wildness to the eye, which has caught a mysterious light from the midnight vigil: his clothes are clean and threadbare; his coat too short at the wrists; his trowsers too short at the legs; his cravat of a rusty black, and vaguely confining two immense shirt collars, leaves his thin and angular neck almost

tious manners have not even the excuse of fashion, and their birth is usually as low as their morality.

entirely exposed. To your left is the native of the south, pale and swarthy; his long black locks, parted from his forehead, descend upon his shoulders; his lip is fringed with a slight 'moustache,' and the semblance of a beard gives to his meditative countenance an antique and apostolic cast. Ranged round the room, with their meagre portions of meat and bread, their pale decanter of water before them, sit the students, whom a youth of poverty and privation is preparing for a life of energy or science. With them is the future*—but where is the

* I have sketched, as the portraits most characteristic of the place, two young men belonging to that class called "la jeune France." The picture would not be faithful, if universally applied. Neither are all students so serious and so learned as I presume my students to be. Many who go to the "Ecole de Droit" merely fulfil a certain form, and visit their college as we do our university, without much intention of benefiting by the instructions they receive there. These are chiefly the young men of wealthy families. Their allowance from four hundred to eight hundred francs a month, enables them to lead an idle and joyous kind of life. There is a 'café' at the corner of the Rue de l'Odéon, famous for the pretty lady at the counter, where they usually breakfast, and occupy two or three hours in the morning in eating, reading the newspapers, and making love. In the evening they cross the water, dine in the Palais Royal, and frequently treat them-

past? Come with me, reader: it is our last pilgrimage: come with me to that spot, where,

selves to the theatre. The vacant time not thus disposed of, is occupied in smoking, talking, (still a favourite amusement of the French,) and reading the light works of the day, which fill the innumerable 'salons litéraires' or circulating libraries in that part of Paris where the schools are situated. This indeed is a circumstance worth remarking; no young Frenchman is ever completely idle, completely illiterate, and completely uninformed. In our universities the great mass of those who are called 'gay men' in contradiction to 'reading men,' the great mass of these never open a book, never take up a newspaper, never read three lines even of Byron or Walter Scott, or the most popular living authors of the day; they hunt, they shoot, and drive; or if they cannot afford the reality of these amusements, they gratify themselves with the shadow, and are to be seen smoking in a shooting-jacket, or lounging in the livery stables, or leaning out of the windows and flourishing a tandem-whip. The theatre, which would have afforded this set of scholars some resource and some education, is peremptorily forbidden, though it would be easy, by proper regulations, to obtain in it a means for elevating the taste, and giving a literary turn to the mind of many who are otherwise inaccessible to instruction or improvement. In Paris the most idle of these gay men I have been describing have a certain elegance of taste and love of *letters*. They read, they admire, they frequently worship the popular genius of the time, and youth is not passed without producing some of those elevating and poetic

unhallowed as the flame that gleams about corruption, an unnatural gaiety lives among the

emotions which ennoble the after-passages of life. But to few of the students is literature merely an amusement, few are the idle and jovial possessors of three or four hundred francs a month. The medical students, more particularly those born of poor parents, and struggling expressly for a profession, are frequently in a state of almost absolute destitution, and forty, fifty, and sixty francs a month is the allowance of many of these young men, who have lodging, food, and fire, and clothing, to procure as they can out of this pittance; bad living, unhealthy air, and hard study, produce a frightful proportion of deaths amongst these unhappy youths. The only comfort and consolation which their misery receives is at the hands of the 'grisette.' This friend, an honest, though perhaps too indulgent personage, who has no parallel in our society, is the student's beneficent genius. Between the 'grisette' and the student there exists a species of fraternity: they lodge frequently in the same house. If the student be ill, the grisette attends him; if the student's linen be out of repair, which happens frequently, the 'grisette' mends it for him. The student, in his turn, protects the 'grisette,' gives her his arm on a Sunday in the Luxembourg, or pays the necessary penny, and conducts her across the bridge. Equally poor, equally in need of kindness and protection, brought together by their mutual wants, they form naturally and immediately a new link in society.

All this part of Paris, in the neighbourhood of the

dead!—come with me to those tombs, fantastically arranged, where a frivolous affection miserably displays itself, in hanging an artificial garland, bought at the gate for two 'sous,' upon the tomb of the lover who was adored! There lie Abélard and Heloïse—the monk and his mistress: how many thoughts, customs, doctrines, chances, changes, revolutions, in that sepulchre! ...There is Massena, General of the empire—Foy, statesman of the restoration; for yonder cemetery, opened only twenty years ago, already contains two dynasties. But pass through the crowd of pyramids, obelisks, mounds, columns,

Luxembourg, is tinged by the character of its youthful inhabitants. They feel this; they feel they are in their own domain; they walk with their heads high, and their caps, or hats, cocked on one side. The poor and more studious carry a book under their arm, the richer and more adventurous brandish a stick.

In the same quarter as the students, and mingling with them, live a great number of the young literary men of France; of the journalists, of the novelists, of the dramatists, melodramatists, writers of tales, reviewers, &c. &c.; less seriously occupied than the poorer students, not so idle as the wealthier ones, they form an intermediate link between the two, and tend doubtless to inspire both with that love of polite learning, that passion for lighter literature with which all the young part of France is imbued.

that surround you on either side; turn from the tombs that are yet fresh, and look down from yonder elevation on the monuments that mingle ages!—what a mass of history is there! Behold the ruins of that palace, built for the modern King of Rome!—behold the church of Saint Louis, the statue of Bonaparte!—look for the site of the temple of Jupiter!—for the house of Ninon de l'Enclos!—for the apartment of Danton—the palace of Richelieu! It is time that gives a magnificence to vastness: it is memory that gives a venerability to age.

Let your imagination darken that river by the overshadowing gloom of the wood, sacred to the weird mysteries of Druidical superstition!—lead through the narrow streets of yonder isle the gay procession of Bacchus and of Ceres!—people the city that I see with the flitting and intermingling figures of cowled monks and steel-armed warriors!—paint the tumults of the League—the massacre of St. Bartholomew!—paint Charles, with the fatal arquebuss in his hand, at yonder window, and the Seine red and tumid with Protestant blood!—behold the Parliament, stiff and sombre, marching on foot to the Palais Cardinal, in deliverance of Broussel; and the town, distracted with the

fêtes, and the duels, and the ambition, and the quarrels, of the gay and noble cavaliers of that courtly and gallant time!—And now see the stalls of the Rue Quincampoix, miserable exhibition of the degraded chivalry of France! and lo! Mirabeau in the tribune! Lafayette, on his white horse, in the Champ de Mars!—Napoléon returning from Egypt, and walking to the Institut!—the Grande Armée, drawn up on the Place du Carrousel!—the Cossacks encamped in the Champs-Elysées!—the Garde Royale flying from the Louvre!—and the Garde Nationale reviewing on the Boulevards! . . . . . .

THE CHARACTERISTICS.

"La nature montre partout la lutte de l'ombre et de la lumière."—V. Hugo—*Littérature et Philosophie mêlees.*

"The truth is, they be not the highest instances that give the securest information; as may be well expressed in the tale so common of the philosopher, that while he gazed upwards to the stars he fell into the water; for if he had looked down, he might have seen the stars in the water, but looking aloft he could not see the water in the stars. So it cometh often to pass, that mean and small things discover great, better than great can discover the small."—*Bacon's Advancement.*

CHARACTERISTICS.

POLITENESS.

Beggar like the Courtier in the time of Louis XV.—Arrival at Calais.—Innkeeper at Rouen.—Comparison between Hotel at Paris and Hotel in London.—Manners of Servants and Tradespeople in the two Countries.—Our idea of Civility.—The manners, checquered in England by softness and insolence, are not sufficiently courteous and gentle in France.—You see no longer in France that noble air, that '*great manner*,' as it was called, which you found formerly.—Grace in the Creed of Père Enfantin.—Expression of old Ségur.

We have arrived in France. We have seen Paris—the epitome of France—now let us take within our view some of the characteristics of the French people! Many are those landmarks

of manners in every nation which laws and circumstances will alter and efface; and many are those which laws and circumstances will alter, will modify, but which they cannot efface:—I proceed to consider both. What, reader, should I say of the ancient reputation which France enjoyed for politeness? ....

"Je me recommande à vous," was said to me the other day by an old gentleman dressed in very tattered garments, who was thus soliciting a 'sou.' The old man was a picture: his long grey hairs fell gracefully over his shoulders. Tall—he was so bent forward, as to take with a becoming air the position in which he had placed himself. One hand was pressed to his heart, the other held his hat. His voice, soft and plaintive, did not want a certain dignity. In that very attitude, and in that very voice, a nobleman of the ancient 'régime' might have solicited a pension from the Duc de Choiseul in the time of Louis XV. I confess that I was the more struck by the manner of the venerable suppliant from the contrast which it formed with the demeanour of his countrymen in general: for it is rare, now a days, I acknowledge, to meet with a Frenchman, with the air which Lawrence Sterne was so enchanted with during the first month, and so wearied with at the ex-

piration of the first year, which he spent in France. That look and gesture of the 'petit marquis,' that sort of studied elegance, which, at first affected by the court, became at last natural to the nation, exist no longer, except among two or three 'grand seigneurs' in the Faubourg St. Germain, and as many beggars usually to be found on the Boulevards. To ask with grace, to beg with as little self-humility as possible; here perchance is the fundamental idea which led, in the two extremes of society, to the same results: but things vicious in their origin are sometimes agreeable in their practice.

"Hail ye small sweet courtesies of life, far smoother do ye make the road of it—like grace and beauty which beget inclinations at first sight, 'tis ye who open the door and let the stranger in." I had the Sentimental Journey in my hand—it was open just at this passage, when I landed not very long ago on the quay of that town which Horace Walpole tells us caused him more astonishment than any other he had met with in his travels. I mean Calais. "Hail ye small sweet courtesies of life," was I still muttering to myself as gently pushing by a spruce little man, who had already scratched my nose, and nearly poked out my eyes with cards of "Hôtel ——," I attempted to pass on

towards the inn of Mons. Dessin. "Nom de D . .," said the Commissionnaire! as I touched his elbow, "nom de D . ., Monsieur, *Je suis Français!* il ne faut pas me pousser, moi . . . *je suis Français!*"—and this he said, contracting his brow, and touching a moustache that only wanted years and black wax to make it truly formidable: I thought that he was going to offer me his own card instead of Mr. Meurice's. This indeed would have been little more than what happened to a friend of mine not long ago. He was going last year from Dieppe to Paris. He slept at Rouen, and on quitting the house the following morning found fault with some articles in the bill presented to him. "Surely there is some mistake here," said he, pointing to the account. "Mistake, sir," said the '*aubergiste*,' adjusting his shoulders with the important air of a man who was going to burthen them with a quarrel—"mistake, sir, what do you mean?—a mistake—do you think I charge a 'sou' more than is just? Do you mean to say that? *Je suis officier, monsieur, officier Français et j'insiste sur ce que vous me rendiez raison!!*" Now, it is undoubtedly very unpleasant to an Englishman, who has the same idea of a duel that a certain French 'marquise' had of a lover, when on her death-bed, she said

to her grand-daughter, "Je ne vous dis pas ma chère, de ne point avoir d'amans, je me rappelle ma jeunesse. Il faut seulement n'en prendre jamais qui soient au dessous de votre état."—It is doubtless very unpleasant to an Englishman, who cares much less about fighting, than about the person he fights with, to have his host present him a bill in one hand, and a pistol in the other. In one of the islands, which we ought to discover, whenever the king sneezes all his courtiers are expected to sneeze also: the country of course imitates the court, and the empire is at once affected with a general cold. Sneezing here then becomes an art and an accomplishment. One person prizes himself on sneezing more gracefully than another, and by a matter of general consent, all nations who have not an harmonious manner of vibrating their nostrils are justly condemned as savages and barbarians. There is no doubt that the people of this island are right; and there is no doubt that we are right in considering every people with different usages from ourselves, of very uncivilized and uncomfortable behaviour. We then decidedly are the people who ought justly to be deemed the most polite.

For instance—you arrive at Paris: how striking the difference between the reception

you receive at your hôtel, and that you would find in London! In London, arrive in your carriage! (*that* I grant is necessary)—the landlord meets you at the door, surrounded by his anxious attendants: he bows profoundly when you alight,—calls loudly for every thing you want, and seems shocked at the idea of your waiting an instant for the merest trifle you can possibly *imagine* that you desire. Now try your Paris hôtel! you enter the court-yard—the proprietor, if he happen to be there, receives you with careless indifference, and either accompanies you saunteringly himself, or orders some one to accompany you to the apartment, which, on first seeing you, he determined you should have. It is useless to expect another. If you find any fault with this apartment, if you express any wish that it had this little thing, that it had not that, do not for one moment imagine that your host is likely to say with an eager air that "he will see what can be done—that he would do a great deal to please so respectable a gentleman." In short, do not suppose him for one moment likely to pour forth any of those little civilities with which the lips of your English innkeeper would overflow. On the contrary; be prepared for his lifting up his eyes, and shrugging up his shoulders, (the shrug is not the courtier-like

shrug of antique days,) and telling you "that the apartment is as you see it, that it is for 'Monsieur' to make up his mind whether he take it or not." The whole is the affair of the guest, and remains a matter of perfect indifference to the host. Your landlady, it is true, is not quite so haughty on these occasions. But you are indebted for her smile rather to the coquetry of the beauty, than to the civility of the hostess: she will tell you, adjusting her head-dress in the mirror standing upon the chimney-piece in the little 'salon' she recommends—"que Monsieur s'y trouvera fort bien, qu'un milord Anglais, qu'un prince Russe, ou qu'un colonel du ——ième régiment de dragons, a occupé cette même chambre"—and that there is just by an excellent 'restaurateur,' and a 'cabinet de lecture'—and then—her head-dress being quite in order—the lady expanding her arms with a gentle smile, says, "Mais après tout, c'est à Monsieur à se décider."—It is this which makes your French gentleman so loud in praise of English politeness. One was expatiating to me the other day on the admirable manners of the English.

"I went," said he, "to the Duke of Devonshire's, '*dans mon pauvre fiacre:*' never shall I forget the respect with which a stately gentle-

man, gorgeously apparelled, opened the creaking door, let down the steps, and—courtesy of very courtesies!—picked, actually picked, the dirty straws of the ignominious vehicle that I descended from, off my shoes and stockings." This occurred to the French gentleman at the Duke of Devonshire's. But let your English gentleman visit a French 'grand seigneur!' He enters the anti-chamber from the grand escalier. The servants are at a game of dominos, from which his entrance hardly disturbs them, and fortunate is he if any one conduct him with a careless, lazy air to the 'salon.' So, if you go to Boivin's, or if you go to Howel's and James's, with what politeness, with what celerity, with what respect your orders are received, at the great man's of Waterloo Place—with what an easy 'nonchalance' you are treated in the Rue de la Paix! All this is quite true; but there are things more shocking than all this. I know a gentleman, who called the other day on a French lady of his acquaintance, who was under the hands of her 'coiffeur.' The artist of the hair was there, armed cap-à-pie, in all the glories of national-guardism, brandishing his comb with the grace and the dexterity with which he would have wielded a sword, and recounting, during the operation of the toilette—

now a story of '*Monsieur son Capitaine*'—now an anecdote, equally interesting, of '*Monsieur son Colonel*'—now a tale of '*Monsieur son Roi*,' "that excellent man, on whom he was going to mount guard that very evening." My unhappy friend's face still bore the most awful aspect of dismay, as he told his story. "By G—d, there's a country for you!" said he; "can property be safe for a moment in such a country? There can be no religion, no morality, with such manners—I shall order post-horses immediately."

I did not wonder at my friend—at his horror for so fearful a familiarity. What are our parents always, and no doubt wisely, repeating to us?—"You should learn, my dear, to keep *a certain kind of persons* at their proper distance.

In no circumstance are we to forget this important lesson. If the clouds hurled their thunders upon our heads, if the world tumbled topsy turvy about our ears,

"Si fractus illabatur orbis,"

it is to find the well-bred Englishman as it would have found the just Roman—and, above all things, it is not to derange the imperturbable disdain with which he is enfeoffed to his in-

feriors.—Lady D. was going to Scotland: a violent storm arose. Her ladyship was calmly dressing her hair, when the steward knocked at the cabin door. "My lady," said the man, "I think it right to tell you there is every chance of our being drowned." "Do not talk to me, you impertinent fellow, about drowning," said her aristocratical ladyship perfectly unmoved—"that's the captain's business, and not mine."

Our great idea of civility, is, that the person who is poor should be exceedingly civil to the person who is wealthy: and this is the difference between the neighbouring nations. Your Frenchman admits no one to be quite his equal—your Englishman worships every one richer than himself as undeniably his superior. Judge us from our servants and our shopkeepers, it is true we are the politest people in the world. The servants, who are paid well—and the shopkeepers, who sell high—scrape, and cringe, and smile. There is no country where those who have wealth are treated so politely by those to whom it goes; but at the same time there is no country where those who are well off live on such cold, and suspicious, and ill-natured, and uncivil terms among themselves.

The rich man who travels in France murmurs at every inn and at every shop; not only is he

treated no better for being a rich man—he is treated worse in many places, from the idea, that because he is rich he is likely to give himself airs. But, if the lower classes are more rude to the higher classes than with us, the higher classes in France are far less rude to one another. The dandy who did not look at an old acquaintance, or who looked impertinently at a stranger, would have his nose pulled, and his body run through with a small sword—or damaged by a pistol bullet—before the evening were well over. Where every man wishes to be higher than he is, there you find people insolent to their fellows, and exacting obsequiousness from their inferiors—where men will allow no one to be superior to themselves, there you see them neither civil to those above them, nor impertinent to those beneath them, nor yet very courteous to those in the same station. The manners checquered in one country by softness and insolence, are not sufficiently courteous and gentle in the other. Time was in France, (it existed in England to a later date,) when politeness was thought to consist in placing every one at his ease. A quiet sense of their own dignity rendered persons insensible to the fear of its being momentarily forgotten. Upon these days rested the shadow of a by-gone chi-

valry, which accounted courtesy as one of the virtues. The civility of that epoch, as contrasted with the civility of ours, was not the civility of the domestic or the tradesman, meant to pamper the pride of their employer; but the civility of the noble and the gentleman, meant to elevate the modesty of those who considered themselves in an inferior state. Corrupted by the largesses of an expensive and intriguing court, the 'grand seigneur,' after the reign of Louis XIV. became over-civil and servile to those above him—beneath the star of the French minister beat the present heart of the British mercer: and softly did the great man smile on those from whom he had anything to gain. As whatever was taught at Versailles was learnt in the Rue St. Denis, when the courtier had the air of a solicitor, every one aped the air of the courtier; and the whole nation with one hand expressing a request, and the other an obligation, might have been taken in the attitude of the graceful old beggar, whose accost made such an impression upon me.

But a new nobility grew up in rivalry to the elder one; and as the positions of society became more complicated and uncertain, a supreme civility to some was seen side by side with a sneering insolence to others—a revolu-

tion in manners, which embittered as it hastened the revolution of opinions. Thus the manners of the French in the time of Louis XVI. had one feature of similarity with ours at present. A monied aristocracy was then rising into power in France, as a monied aristocracy is now rising into power in England. This is the aristocracy which demands obsequious servility—which is jealous and fearful of being treated with disrespect: this is the aristocracy which is haughty, insolent, and susceptible; which dreams of affronts and gives them; this is the aristocracy which measures with an uncertain eye the height of an acquaintance; this is the aristocracy which cuts and sneers—this aristocracy, though the aristocracy of the revolution of July, is now too powerless in France to be more than vulgar in its pretensions. French manners then, if they are not gracious, are at all events not insolent; while ours, unhappily, testify on one hand the insolence, while they do not on the other represent the talent and the grace of that society which presided over the later suppers of the old 'régime.' We have no Monsieur de Fitz-James, who might be rolled in a gutter all his life, as was said by a beautiful woman of his time, "without ever contracting a spot of dirt?" We have no Monsieur de Narbonne, who stops

in the fiercest of a duel to pick up the ruffled rose that had slipped in a careless moment from his lips, during the graceful conflict? You see no longer in France that noble air, that "*great manner*," as it was called, by which the old nobility strove to keep up the distinction between themselves and their worse-born associates to the last, and which of course those associates most *assiduously imitated.*

That manner is gone; the French, so far from being a polite people at the present day, want that easiness of behaviour which is the first essential to politeness. Every man you meet is occupied with maintaining his dignity, and talks to you of *his* position. There is an evident effort and struggle, I will not say to appear better than you are, but to appear *all* that *you are*, and to allow no person to think that you consider him better than you. Persons, no longer ranked by classes, take each by themselves an individual place in society: they are so many atoms, not forming a congruous or harmonious whole. They are too apt to strut forward singly, and to say with a great deal of action, and a great deal of emphasis, "I am—*nobody*." The French are no longer a polite people; but in the French nation, as in every nation, there is an involuntary and traditionary respect

which hallows what is gone by; and among the marvels of modern France is a religion which ranks an agreeable smile and a graceful bow as essential virtues of its creed.

Nor does the Père Enfantin stand alone. There is something touching in the language of the old 'seigneur,' who, placed as it were between two epochs, looking backwards and forwards to the graces of past times and the virtues of new, thus expresses himself:

"Les progrès de la lumière et de la liberté ont certainement fait faire de grands pas à la raison humaine; mais aussi dans sa route, n'a-t-elle rien perdu? Moi qui ne suis pas un de ces opiniâtres prôneurs de ce bon vieux tems qui n'est plus, je ne puis m'empêcher de regretter ce bon goût, cette grâce, cette fleur d'enjouement et d'urbanité qui chassait de la société tout ennui en permettant au bon sens de sourire et à la sagesse de se parer. Aujourd'hui beaucoup de gens ressemblent à un propriétaire morose, qui ne songeant qu'à l'utile, bannirait de son jardin les fleurs et ne voudrait y voir que du blé des foins et des fruits."

GALLANTRY.

The small piece called "*Pourquoi*"—The French are not to expect at the same time in their wives chastity and good-temper—What is to be said for England—In France there is not even a shocking or humiliating idea attached to sexual improprieties—Mademoiselle de l'Enclos' observation—There is nothing of passion in French love—A poet irresistible on the Banks of the Rhine—A lord on the Banks of the Thames—The Italian women, the English women, the French women—A courtship in France a series of 'bons-mots'—Fate of unmarried ladies—'Marriages de St. Jacques'—Number of illegitimate births in Paris—More libertinage in France than elsewhere, and leads less, perhaps, than elsewhere to other depravity—The gallantry and licentiousness of the French not sprung from the revolution—Saying of the mother of the great Condé.—The love which you find in France made for society—Gallantry national in France—The French cherish the memory, not only of their great men, but of their great men's mistresses.

THERE is a small piece now acting at one of the minor theatres called "*Pourquoi.*" It is

very popular; every body goes to see it, and says, "it is so true." What tale lies hid under this mysterious title?

There are two married friends living together. The wife of one is charming, always ready to obey and to oblige; her husband's will is her law. Nothing puts her out of humour. This couple live on the best of terms, and the husband is as happy as husband can desire to be.—Now for the other pair! Here is continual wrangling and dispute. The wife will have her own way in the merest trifles as on the gravest matters—storms when contradicted, still tosses her head when humoured. In short, nothing can be so disagreeable as this good lady is to her grumbling but submissive helpmate. Happiness and misery were never to all appearances brought more fairly face to face than in these two domestic establishments. "Why" is one wife such a pattern of good nature and submission? "Why" is the other such a detestable shrew? This is the *pourquoi*.

The spouse whom you shrink from in such justifiable terror is as faithful as woman can be. The spouse whom you cling to as such a pillow of comfort, is an intriguing hussey.

Hear, oh! ye French husbands! you must not expect your wives to have at the same time

chastity and good temper: the qualities are incompatible. Your eyes must be picked out, or horns on your heads must grow. This is the farce which is 'so popular.' This is the picture of manners which people call 'so true.' Miserable man, if the lips you press to yours are chaste to such endearments! Miserable man, if the wife of your bosom should be so singular as to be faithful! There is this to be said for England—if the poor-houses of the country swarm with children without a father—if the streets of the metropolis are almost turbulently infested with ladies of a most improper character—if Grosvenor Square and St. James's Square, and Hill Street, and Charles Street, are witnesses to some mysterious and unconjugal indecorums,—the crime of unchastity is still spoken of and considered as deadly and damnatory as any to be found on the Newgate Calendar. It was but the other day that a poor woman charged, I think a chimney sweep, with grossly ill-treating, *i.e.* beating her. What says the chimney sweep? Does he refute the charge? No: but he asks the plaintiff at once whether she is not guilty of a criminal intercourse with a certain cobbler of her acquaintance; and when this unhappy fact is established—turning round triumphantly to the

magistrate—"Now, your honour, vot does your honour say after that?" says the chimney sweeper.

In France there is not even a shocking, or humiliating idea attached to these sexual improprieties. The woman, says la Bruyère, who has only one lover says she is *not* a *coquette*. The woman who has more than one lover says she is *only a coquette*. To have a lover is the natural and simple thing—nor is it necessary that you should have a violent passion to excuse the frailty. Mademoiselle de Lenclos, whose opinions have descended in all their force and simplicity to the present generation says, "What attaches you to your lover is not always love—a conformity of ideas, of tastes, the habit of seeing him, the desire to escape yourself—*la nécessité d'avoir quelque galanterie*. "Gallantry"—that is the word which, in spite of all our social refinement, we have hardly yet a right understanding of. I remember in some novel of Crebillon a scene in which the lady gently repulses the addresses of a gentleman who is laying what we should call violent hands on her, by the remark, that she did not love him—"Nay," but says the gentleman nothing abashed, "if you only give what I ask to love, what do you keep for friendship?"

Gallantry is a kind of light, and affectionate, and unplatonic friendship, which just suits the amiable and frivolous nature of the French.

There is nothing of passion in it—never expect a folly! Not one lady in a hundred would quit the husband she deceives for the lover whom (*soi-disant*) she adores. As to the gentlemen—I remember a case the other day: Madame de ——, hating her husband rather more than it is usual to hate a husband, or liking her lover rather better than it is usual to like a lover, proposed an elopement. The lover, when able to recover from the astonishment into which he was thrown by so startling and singular a proposition—having moreover satisfied himself that his mistress was really in earnest—put on a more serious aspect than usual.

"Your husband is as you know, ma chère," said he, "my best friend. I will live with you and love you as long as you like, under his roof—that is no breach of friendship; but I cannot do M. de —— so cruel and unfriendly a thing as to run away with you."* In Italy love is fierce, passionate, impregnated with the sun: in England as in Germany, love is sentimental, ideal. It is not the offspring of the heart, but

* This is a fact.

of the imagination. A poet on the banks of the Rhine is irresistible—a lord on the banks of the Thames is the same. The lord indeed is a kind of poet—a hallowed and mystic being to a people who are always dreaming of lords, and scheming to be ladies. The world of fancy to British dames and damsels is the world of fashion: Almack's and Devonshire House are the "fata morgana" of the proudest and the highest—but every village has "its set," round which is drawn a magic circle; and dear and seductive are the secret and undefinable, and frequently unattainable charms of those within the circle to those without it. You never heard in England of a clergyman's daughter seduced by a baker's son—of a baker's daughter seduced by a chimney sweeper's boy.

The gay attorney seduces the baker's daughter; the clergyman's only child runs away with the Honourable Augustus ——, who is heir, or younger brother to the heir, of the great house where the races are given to the neighbourhood. When the Italian woman takes a lover, she indulges a desperate passion; when the Englishwoman takes a lover, it is frequently to gratify a restless longing after rank; when a Frenchwoman takes a lover, it is most commonly to get an agreeable and in-

teresting companion. As Italy is the land of turbulent emotion—as England is the land of aristocratic pretension—so France is "*par excellence*," the land of conversation; and an assiduous courtship is very frequently a series of bons-mots. It is very possibly the kind of gentle elegance which pervades these relations, that makes the French so peculiarly indulgent to them; you hear of none of the fatal effects of jealous indignation—of the husband or the lover poignarded in the dim-lit street;* you hear of no damages and no elopements; the honour of the marriage-bed is never brought before your eyes in the clear, and comprehensive, and unmistakeable shape of £20,000. You see a very well dressed gentleman particularly civil and attentive to a very well dressed lady. If you call of a morning, you find him sitting by her work-table; if she stay at home of an evening for the 'migraine,' you find him seated by her sofa; if you meet her in the world, you find him talking with her husband;

* These connexions, however, produce more crimes, than, judging from appearances, you would conceive. Adultery, as it will be shown, causes many of the poisonings—but it is the wife who kills her husband—not from jealousy, but disgust—not because she loves—but because she wants to get rid of—him.

a stranger, or a provincial says, "Pray, what relation is Monsieur —— to Madame ——?" He is told quietly, "Monsieur —— is Madame ——'s lover." This gallantry, which is nothing more nor less than a great sociability, a great love of company and conversation, pervades every class of persons, and produces consequences, no doubt, which a love of conversation can hardly justify.

In a country where fortunes are small, marriages, though far more frequent than with us, have still their limits, and only take place between persons who can together make up a sufficient income. A vast variety of single ladies, therefore, without fortune, still remain, who are usually guilty of the indiscretion of a lover, even though they have no husband to deceive. Many of these cannot be called s—mp—s in our sense of things, and are honest women in their own. They take unto themselves an affection, to which they remain tolerably faithful, as long as it is understood that the *liaison* continues. The quiet young banker, the quiet young stockbroker, the quiet young lawyer, live until they are rich enough to marry in some connexion of this description. Sanctioned by custom, these left-handed marriages are to be found with a certain respectability appertaining

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to them in all walks of life. The working classes have their somewhat famous "*mariages de St. Jacques,*" which among themselves are highly respectable. The working man, and the lady who takes in washing, or who makes linen, find it cheaper and more comfortable (for the French have their idea of comfort) to take a room together. They take a room, put in their joint furniture; (one bed answers for both;) the lady cooks; a common ménage and a common purse are established, and the couple's affection usually endures at least as long as their lease. People so living, though the one calls himself Mr. Thomas, and the other Mademoiselle Clare, are married *à la St. Jacques*, and their union is considered in every way reputable by their friends and neighbours during the time of its continuance.

The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children in the department of the Seine, as given by M. Chabrol, would be one to two,* add to this proportion the children born in marriage and illegitimately begotten! . . . . . .

The hospitals of the "Enfans trouvés," which, under their present regulations, are

* Naissances par mois.—Département de la Seine.
in marriage, 20,782,
out of marriage, 10,139.

nothing less than a human sacrifice to sensual indulgence, remove the only check that in a country without religion can exist to illicit intercourse. There is, then, far more libertinage in France than in any other civilized country in Europe; but it leads less than in other countries to further depravity. Not being considered a crime, incontinence does not bring down the mind to the level of crime. It is looked upon, in fact, as merely a matter of taste; and very few people, in forming their opinion of the character of a woman, would even take her virtue into consideration. Great indeed are the evils of this—but it also has its advantages: in England, where honour, probity, and charity are nothing to the woman in whom chastity is not found,—to her who has committed one error there is no hope,—and six months frequently separate the honest girl of respectable parents and good prospects from the abandoned prostitute, associated with thieves, and whipped in Bridewell for her disorders.

But the *quasi* legitimate domesticity consecrated by the name of St. Jacques, is French gallantry in its sober, modern, and republican form: it dates, probably, from the revolution of '89; while the more light and courtly style of

gallantry, which you find not less at the Elysées Belleville* and the Chaumière than in the stately Hôtels of the Faubourg St. Germain and the Chaussée D'Antin, mingles with the ancient history of France, and has long taken that root among the manners which might be expected from the character of the nation.

Commencing with François I., it succeeded that chivalric adoration with which the fair had been hitherto superstitiously adored. The veil which till then had been drawn about the sex was of that pure and ethereal nature which suited the barbarism of an age that could not be trusted to see things with the naked eye. On first ceasing to be a divinity, woman became little better than a harlot; and amidst the masked debauchery of the Medici, there was not even the pretence of sentiment to sanctify the passionate caprice. A more gentle refinement breathed over the gallantry of the Fronde, when still in the memory of Buckingham's romantic passion, a sovereign was braved for the smile of a mistress, and the cavalier who has come down to us as a sage, said so gracefully to the queen of his affections—

* See the excellent caricature of "Le Diable hors les barrières."

"Pour mériter vos charmes, pour plaire à vos beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurais faite aux Dieux."*

No! Monsieur le Chevalier de St. Louis! it is not from the destruction of the Bastille that we are to date those soft indecorums you so religiously deplore. I forget the cardinal's name (perhaps you will remember it) whom the conclave ought to have elected in order to suit the tablets of the mother of the great Condé, and of that beautiful Duchesse de Longueville, to whom the graceful couplet I have quoted was addressed. Is it not Madame de Motteville, who says that this great lady, sitting one day with Anne of Austria and the ladies of her court, was informed that the cardinal, whose name I cannot at this moment call to mind, had been unsuccessful in his candidature for the papal chair?—"*Ah!*" said the good princess, "*j'en suis fâchée: il ne me manquait qu'un pape, pour dire que j'avais eu des amans—pape, roi, ministres, guerriers, et simples gentilshommes.*"

The excellent Ninon, whom I have already quoted, and who lived and loved at this time, as she lived and loved long afterwards, has left

* De la Rochefoucauld.

s, in her farewell letter to Monsieur de Sévigné, a charming description of that French gallantry which existed in her day, and survives in ours. "It is over, Marquis; I must open my heart to you without reserve: sincerity, you know, was always the predominant quality of my character. Here is a new proof of it. When we swore, by all that lovers hold most sacred, that death alone could disunite us —that our passion should endure for ever—our vows, on my side, at all events, were sincere. Admire the strangeness of this heart, and the multitude of contradictions of which, alas! it is capable. I now write in the same sincerity that breathed in my former oaths, to assure you that the love I felt—I feel no longer. Instead of endeavouring to deceive myself, and to deceive you, I have thought it more worthy of both to speak frankly. When the thing is true, why not say, '*I love you no more,*' with the same sincerity with which one said, '*I love you?*'" Nor was this levity in love the lady's peculiar characteristic. A little history in Madame de Sévigné describes a scene in which the gentleman acts perfectly à la Ninon. "The Chevalier de Lorraine called the other day upon the F——; she wished to play *La Désespérée.* The chevalier, with that beautiful air which

you recollect, endeavoured to do away at once with her embarrassment. 'What is the matter, Mademoiselle?' said he; 'why are you out of spirits? What is there extraordinary in the accident that has happened to us? We loved one another—we love one another no longer. Constancy is not the virtue of our age. We had much better forget the past, and assume the ordinary manners of the world.——*What a pretty little dog you have got!*' And thus," says Madame de Sévigné, "ended this *belle passion.*"

How many modern anecdotes do I remember of the same description! It was but the other day that a lady called upon a friend whom she found in despair at the fickleness of men. Surprised at this extraordinary display of affliction: "Be comforted," said the lady to her friend; "be comforted, for heaven's sake; after all, these misfortunes are soon replaced and forgotten. You remember Monsieur C——, he treated me in the same way; for the first week I was disconsolate, it is true—but now—*mon Dieu!*—I have almost forgotten that he ever existed."—"Ah! my dear," said the lady, who was in the wane of her beauty, and whom these soothing words failed to console, "there is, alas! this great difference between us—

Monsieur C—— was your first lover—Monsieur R—— *is my last!*" Love, that cordial, heart-in-heart kind of love which our English poets have sometimes so beautifully depicted, is not to be found in France. In every step of a French amour you are overpowered by words, you are adored, idolized; but in all the graceful positions into which gallantry throws itself, as amidst all the phrases it pours forth, there wants that quiet and simple air, that deep, and tender, and touching, and thrilling tone which tell you beyond denial, that the heart your own yearns to is really and truly yours. The love which you find in France is the love made for society—not for solitude: it is that love which befits the dazzling salon, the satined boudoir; it is that love which mixes with intrigue, with action, with politics, and affairs; it is that love which pleases, and never absorbs; which builds no fairy palace of its own, but which scatters over the trodden paths of life more flowers than a severer people find there.

With this love the history of France is full. So completely is it national, that the most gallant reigns have never failed to be the most popular. The name of Henri IV. is hardly more historical than that of the fair Gabrielle; nor has it ever been stated, in diminution of the

respect still paid to this wise and beloved king, that his paramour accompanied him in the council, kissed him publicly before his court, and publicly received his caresses. No: the French saw nothing in this but that which was *tout Français;* and the only point which they consider of importance is, that the belle Gabrielle was really *belle.* On this point, considering their monarch's mistress as their own, they are inexorable; and nothing tended so much to depopularize Louis XIV. as his matrimonial intrigue with the ugly old widow of Scarron. Nor is it in the amours of their *monarchs only* that the French take an interest. Where is the *great man* in France whose fame is not associated with that of some softer being—of some softer being—who has not indeed engrossed his existence, but who has smoothed and rounded the rough and angular passages of public and literary life?

Where is the Voltaire without his Madame de Châtelet? and yet, what was the nature of the poet's love for the lady whose death-bed he wept over, saying—"Ce grossier St. Lambert l'a tuée en lui faisant un enfant?"

Where is the Mirabeau without his Sophie de Ruffay? and yet, what was the patriot's passion for his mistress whom he sacrificed to the pay-

ment of his debts, and with whose adoration he blended the nightmare reveries of a satyr's mind?*

How many gentle episodes throw their softening colours on the sanguinary superstitions of the League—on the turbulent and factious gatherings of the Fronde—on the fierce energies and infernal horrors of the revolution? How gracefully, in defiance of Robespierre, did the gallantry which decorated the court survive in the prison, and sigh forth its spirit on the scaffold! . . . . . .

I shall elsewhere have to speak of the power which women still exercise in France over public affairs. Here I shall merely observe, that though not so great as it was, it is still considerable; nor when we speak of the influences of our own aristocracy may it be amiss to remember that influences something similar, and equally illegitimate, may exist among a people of equals, when a cause is to be found in ancient manners and national character.

* See the publication written at the same time as 'Les lettres à Sophie.'

VANITY.

Story of Escousse and Lebras—French vanity not *only* ridiculous—Cause of union—Do any thing with a Frenchman by saying, "Français, soyez Français!" —French passion for equality because France is "toute marquise"—Story of a traveller sixty years ago—A fortunate prince in France easily despotic—Bonaparte's exemplification of the force of a national passion—His proclamation on landing at Elba —Vanity causes fine names, gave force to old corporations, gives force to modern associations—Applied to the nation vanity not ridiculous; applied to individuals ridiculous—Old men and old women gratify one another by appearing to make love—The principle of making a fortune by spending it —The general effects of vanity

The beautiful song—to be found in the note at the bottom of the next page—was the tribute paid by M. Béranger to two youthful poets who destroyed themselves after the failure of a small piece at the 'Gaieté.' "Je t'attends à onze heures et demie," writes M. Escousse to his

friend Lebras—"The curtain shall be lifted so that we may precipitate the *dénouement*."* On

* LE SUICIDE.

SUR LA MORT DES JEUNE VICTOR ESCOUSSE ET AUGUSTE LEBRAS, FEV. 1832.

Quoi, morts tous deux! dans cette chambre close
Où du charbon pèse encore la vapeur!
Leur vie hélas était à peine éclose.
Suicide affreux! triste objet de stupeur!
Ils auront dit: le monde fait naufrage,
Voyez pâlir pilote et matelots
Vieux bâtiment usé par tous les flots;
Il s'engloutit: sauvons-nous à la nage.
Et vers le ciel se frayant un chemin,
Ils sont partis en se donnant la main.

Pauvres enfans! l'écho murmure encore
L'air qui berça votre premier sommeil.
Si quelque brume obscurcit votre aurore,
Leur disait-on, attendez le soleil.
Ils répondaient: Qu'importe que la sève
Monte enrichir les champs où nous passons!
Nous n'avons rien; arbres, fleurs ni moissons.
Est-ce pour nous que le soleil se lève?
Et vers le ciel se frayant un chemin,
Ils sont partis en se donnant la main!

Pauvres enfans! calomnier la vie!
C'est par dépit que les vieillards le font.
Est-il de coupe où votre ame ravie,
En la vidant, n'ait vu l'amour au fond?

the receipt of this theatrical little billet, M. Lebras goes quietly to M. Escousse's lodgings, and sits with him over the charcoal that had

Ils répondaient: C'est le rêve d'un ange.
L'amour! en vain notre voix l'a chanté.
De tout son culte un autel est resté;
Y touchions-nous? l'idole était de fange.
Et vers le ciel se frayant un chemin,
Ils sont partis en se donnant la main.

Pauvres enfans! mais les plumes venues,
Aigles un jour, vous pouviez, loin du nid,
Bravant la foudre et dépassant les nues,
La gloire en face, atteindre à son zénith.
Ils répondaient: Le laurier devient cendre,
Cendre qu'au vent l'envie aime à jeter.
Et notre vol dût-il si haut monter,
Toujours près d'elle il faudra redescendre.
Et vers le ciel se frayant un chemin,
Ils sont partis en se donnant la main.

Pauvres enfans! quelle douleur amère
N'apaisent pas de saints devoirs remplis?
Dans la patrie on retrouve une mère,
Et son drapeau nous couvre de ses plis.
Ils répondaient: Ce drapeau qu'on escorte
Au toit du chef, le protége endormi,
Mais le soldat, teint du sang ennemi
Veille, et de faim meurt en gardant la porte.
Et vers le ciel se frayant un chemin,
Ils sont partis en se donnant la main.

been duly prepared for precipitating the '*dénouement.*' M. Escousse did not, however, pass away from the world without leaving behind him, both in prose and poesy, a record of his sentiments. "I desire," said he, "that the journals which announce my death, will add to their article this declaration :—

"Escousse killed himself because he felt that

Pauvres enfans ! de fantômes funèbres
Quelque nourrice a peuplé vos esprits.
Mais un Dieu brille à travers nos ténèbres ;
Sa voix de père a dû calmer vos cris.
Ah ! disaient-ils, suivons ce trait de flamme.
N'attendons pas, Dieu, que ton nom puissant,
Qu'on jette en l'air comme un nom de passant,
Soit, lettre à lettre, effacé de notre âme.
Et vers le ciel se frayant un chemin,
Ils sont partis en se donnant la main.

Dieu créateur, pardonne à leur démence.
Ils s'étaient faits les échos de leurs sons,
Ne sachant pas qu'en une chaîne immense,
Non pour nous seuls, mais pour tous, nous naissons.
L'humanité manque de saints apôtres
Qui leur aient dit : Enfans, suivez sa loi.
Aimer, aimer, c'est être utile à soi ;
Se faire aimer, c'est être utile aux autres.
Et vers le ciel se frayant un chemin,
Ils sont partis en se donnant la main.

his place was not here—because he wanted force at every step he took before him or behind him —because the love of glory *did not* sufficiently animate his soul, if soul he have."—" Madman," says the journalist who obeys his wish; " you die—*non pas parceque la gloire vous manque. mais parceque vous manquez à la gloire.*" But M. Escousse left also poetry behind him— " I desire that this be the motto of my book—

> " Adieu, trop inféconde terre,
> Fléaux humains, soleil glacé,
> Comme un fantome solitaire
> Inaperçu j'aurai passé:
> Adieu, palmes immortelles
> Vrai songe d'une âme de feu!
> L'air manquait, j'ai fermé les ailes—Adieu!"

The air of the world was too heavy for the poetical wings of this unfortunate vaudevilliste— and . . . .*

Thus did these two young gentlemen perish, victims of a vanity which left them in their dying hour no more solemn thought than that of their puny reputation. Every one will re-echo me when I say " the French are the vainest

* A young man who killed himself not long ago, left behind him a variety of articles which he had written upon his suicide and himself, and which he begged his friends to get inserted in the different papers.

people in the world;"—but I do not know whether every one will treat their national vanity in the same manner, or take the same view of it that I do.

That vanity is not *only* ridiculous; it contains a power which many more lofty and serious qualities would fail to supply. With that vanity is combined a capability for great things; a magnificence of design and a daringness of execution, rare amongst the pale and frigid nations of the north. In that vanity is security to France; for in that vanity is—ûnion. That vanity it is which concentrates and connects a people different in their manners, different in their origin, different in their climate, different even in their language. That vanity it is—which gives to *thirty-three* millions of individuals—*one* heart and *one* pulse. Go into any part of France, some districts of Brittany perhaps excepted, and let any body of persons be assembled! address them to soothe or to excite! Say "vive la liberté!" there are times when you will not be listened to—"Vive le roi! —vive la charte!—vive la république!" these are all rallying cries which will now be hissed, and now applauded: but cry "Vive la France"—"Vive la belle France, songez que vous êtes Français!" and almost before the words are out of your mouth, your voice will be drowned

with cheers, and a circulating and sympathetic thrill will have rushed through the breast, and brought tears into the eyes of every one of your audience. If you were to say to an Englishman, "Give me up your property, and give me up your liberty, and give me up your life, for the sake of England;" he would say, "Stop a little! what is England to me without my property, and my liberty, and my life?—my liberty, my property, and my life, are England to me all the world over."—Not so the Frenchman: talk to him of France; tell him that what you wish is for the interest and the glory of France, and he will let you erect scaffolds, and send his children to the guillotine and the battle—he will stop in the highest fever of freedom to bow to the most terrible dictatorship, and stick the red cap of democratism on the triumvirate tyranny of Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just. There is nothing you may not do with him under the charm of those irresistible words—"*Français, soyez Français!*" "The Englishman," as an author lately observed, "is proud of his nation because it belongs to himself;* the Frenchman is proud of himself because he belongs to his nation." This is true—and this is true—because a Frenchman's vanity

* England and the English.

induces him to prefer to himself the association which connects him with something greater than himself;—so merit is more honoured in France than in England—because the Frenchman at once connects his own fame with the fame of the sage or the warrior of his land, and loves and cherishes his countryman's reputation as a part of himself. "It was not from a massive bar of iron, but from a small and tiny needle," as my Lord Bacon observes, "that we discovered the great mystery of nature: and thus is it often by marking carefully those passions, which, looked at superficially, appear the smallest and the meanest—that we trace the causes of a nation's principal distinctions.

Let me also remark that things which appear the most incomprehensible, as we regard the institutions of a country, explain themselves frequently as we inform ourselves of the character of its people. A fierce republican asked a friend of mine the other day, to procure him the order of St. Anne from the Emperor of Russia. How do you account for, and how do you reconcile, that passion for equality, and that avidity for distinction which burn at the same moment in a French bosom? Do you believe in the one, and doubt the other? They both in reality

exist: they both in reality exist—and they both exist—because the Frenchman is—vain. France is republican, because France is, as Madame de Staël said, *toute marquise*——a general desire for honours forbids a privilege to exist.

I have said that merit is more honoured in France than in England, because the Frenchman at once associates himself with the greatest glory to which he can possibly claim affinity. For this reason—a government strong and lucky will find little difficulty in doing what it pleases. Instead of being *afraid* or *jealous* of its power, the French will be *vain* of it. The greater and more terrible such a government is, the greater and more terrible they will think *themselves* to be.—"I was stopping one night at a country inn," says an English traveller, whose journey took place about sixty years ago; 'the court-yard was filled with the equipage, and the kitchen with the retinue, of a 'grand seigneur,' who was proceeding to his government in the south. My room was not very distant from the French nobleman's, and just as I was going to bed, I heard a tremendous noise in the passage, and the mingled ejaculations of threatening and supplication. What is the cause of this?—thought I—with the nervousness of a traveller in a strange country—and wrapping a cloak

around me, I sallied forth into the dimly-lit corridor, which ran from one end of the 'auberge' to the other. I was not long in a state of suspense: before me in a brocaded dressing gown was my illustrious neighbour for the night, laying a light cane—which actually clung to the form it curled round—on the back of his unfortunate valet. At my appearance the 'grand seigneur' ended his operations with one tremendous kick, and retired into his apartment. I could not refrain from going up to the miserable wretch who stood whining and shivering before me. 'Be comforted,' said I, 'my good fellow, your master has used you most shamefully, and I have no doubt the law will give you redress for his brutality.' 'My master,' sir, said the valet immediately drawing himself up with dignity, 'is far too great a man for the law to reach: and indeed for the matter of that, all the masters whom I have ever served, could get a lettre-de-cachet for the asking.' D—n the fellow, if he was not proud of his master's being able to beat him with impunity!" Just so—he was much more alive to the vanity of having for a master a gentleman, who could beat his servants with impunity, than he was to the disgrace of being one of the servants beaten. A successful prince

then may always, in France, be a despotic one; but woe to the unfortunate prince who would imitate his example. In England there is usually a sympathy with the sinking cause—and after it has reached a certain mark there is almost sure to be an ebb in our displeasure. In France it is quite the reverse—the 'grand homme'—if you succeed: —you are a 'scélérat,' a 'coquin,' a 'parjure,' every thing that is atrocious, if you are guilty of——misfortune. It is not that the French are in private an ill-natured or an ungrateful people, but their vanity cannot endure being on the losing side, and they take all pains to convince themselves that they are called upon to quit it. The reign and career of Bonaparte was perhaps the strongest exemplification ever known of the force of a national passion. The French gazed upon his bridges, his harbours, his canals, his triumphal arches, his temples, and every individual said, 'What a great person I am, to have an emperor who has done all this. Harassed, decimated, oppressed as the nation was,—faint and exhausted, it followed him on to the verge of his fortune, and left him—at the first defeat; and now that the statue of their ancient idol is again put up, was it justice that put it up? Ask those who are still

in exile! Ask Lucien or Louis Bonaparte!—they could tell you that justice refuses a home to the 'citizen,' while vanity restores the monument of the 'hero.' We have wondered at the successes of the hundred days. If the marshal whose punishment remains a blot on our national escutcheon, had simply read in his defence that marvellous proclamation which made him an involuntary perjurer, not even the Chamber of Peers could have pronounced his condemnation. "Ceux que nous avons vus pendant vingt-cinq ans parcourir toute l'Europe pour nous susciter des ennemis, qui ont passé leur vie à combattre contre nous dans les rangs des armées étrangères, en maudissant notre belle France, prétendraient-ils commander et enchaîner nos aigles? souffrirons-nous qu'ils héritent du fruit de nos glorieux travaux? Soldats, dans mon exil j'ai entendu votre voix; je suis arrivé à travers tous les obstacles, et tous les périls. Votre général, appelé au trône par le choix du peuple, et élevé sur vos pavois, vous est rendu: venez le joindre! Arrachez ces couleurs que la nation a proscrites, et qui pendant vingt-cinq ans servirent de ralliement à tous les ennemis de la France; arborez cette cocarde tricolore, vous la portiez dans vos grandes journées. Les vétérans des armées de

Sambre et Meuse, du Rhin, d'Italie, d'Egypte, et de l'Ouest sont humiliés, leurs honorables cicatrices sont flétries! Soldats, venez vous ranger sous les drapeaux de votre chef; la victoire marchera au pas de charge; l'aigle, avec les couleurs nationales volera de clocher en clocher jusqu'aux tours de Notre Dame."* I know nothing in history so eloquent as this

* Frenchmen! shall they who for twenty-five years traversed Europe to find enemies against us—shall they who have passed their lives in foreign ranks, execrating our beautiful France—shall these men command and enchain our eagles? Shall we suffer these men to inherit the fruit of our glorious labours? Soldiers! in my exile I heard your voice. I am here in spite of a thousand obstacles, and a thousand perils! Your general called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you. Come and join him! Tear down those colours, which the nation has proscribed, and which during twenty-five years served to rally all the enemies of France! Hoist that tri-coloured banner which you bore aloft on our great days! The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, and of the west, are humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced. Soldiers, range yourselves under the banners of your chief! La victoire marchera *au pas de charge*: L'aigle avec les couleurs nationales volera de clocher en clocher jusqu'aux tours de Notre Dame.

proclamation for the army and the people it was addressed to. Not an expression is omitted that could touch the nation in its most sensible part; for nobody knew better than Napoleon that—*a great man* must embody—*a great passion:* He presented himself to France as the vision of her vanity and her glory: we know how he was received.

But as a Frenchman will connect himself when he can with any thing greater than himself, so he will endeavour to make magnificent the meanest objects that he belongs to. In no country do ordinary things write themselves in such fine names as in France. Your miserable circulating library is a "Salon littéraire;" your blockless barber "un artiste;" your poor apothecary a 'pharmacien;' your kitchen a 'laboratoire;' your common copyist 'a man of letters.' Every class in France has an extraordinary respect for itself. "J'ai l'honneur de vous *présenter* mes respects," says one scavenger, "Et comment se porte Madame?" replies the other. So the garçons of the café take off their hats to one another, the lowest of the working classes do the same. This gives any body or order of men, once called into existence in France, such consistency and strength—this gives to all associations in France a force which it would

be vain to calculate upon elsewhere—this is what contributed to give the ancient magistracy, the old corporations, and the old nobility of France, the immense power they possessed—this gives the literary institutions of France, and not only the literary institutions, but the literary men of France, such an immense power at the present day—and above all, this gives, as I have said, that spirit of combination and concentration to the French as a nation, which it is so important for a military people to possess. Applied to France then, French vanity is not ridiculous. Applied to the French individually, it does, I confess, very frequently become so.* Just see that old man with a bald head, one dark tooth, and a light limp from the gout! That old gentleman said to a lady of my acquaintance the other day, "I am very unhappy, madam, what is to be done in society I am sure I do not know! I am a man of honour. I see those young creatures," (pointing out two or three of the prettiest wo-

* A good trait of *French self-confidence* may be found in this anecdote:—

Sir S. Romilly and Gen. S. . . . were discussing some point of *English law*. Sir S. Romilly stated his conviction. "Pardonnez-moi," said the French general, "*vous vous trompez* étrangement, mon cher Romilly, *je le sais*—car—*j'ai lu Blackstone ce matin*."

men in the room,) "I see those young creatures, the tears in their eyes,—pierced to the heart by a gentle glance—I say to myself, *si je me lance*... the mischief is done: but I retire; I can't help pitying those beautiful flowers which a soft indiscretion might for ever tarnish; I can't help feeling pity for them, madam; I am a man of honour; but what distresses me is to find that every body has not the same pity that I have." The old gentleman spoke with perfect sincerity: by a kind of mutual sympathy for each other's weaknesses, both sexes in France cheerfully accord that old age is no impediment to the tender passion: nor is it so indeed: if the aged lady or the aged gentleman have any thing beyond their personal charms to gratify the self-love of an admirer.

That the infamous Duc de Richelieu at seventy desolated a province with his intrigues is perfectly conceivable to any one, who has seen the cold and disgusting manner with which French women even now prostitute themselves to a reputation. Nor is this all: where no such inducement exists—on Sawney's simple maxim, "I'll scratch you if you scratch me," you will frequently find, billing and cooing in some retired corner of a salon, two sexagenarian lovers, who with all the skill of old practitioners,

go through the forms of a courtship which it is not to be presumed they can carry further than the form:—might not one have fancied oneself in that island of Mr. Moore's,

"Where lips till sixty shed no honey,
And grandames were worth any money:"

Might not one have fancied oneself in that island at the time when one saw Monsieur de Châteaubriand, (sixty years old,) desperately in love with a 'Duchesse,' (of the same age,) while Madame Récamier, (no younger,)—flying France in jealousy of Monsieur de Châteaubriand—completed the misery of her old lover, Benj. Constant, who was at once tormented by the reproaches of his aged wife, and the disdain of his aged mistress? It is marvellous when a people have a predominant passion, how it insinuates itself into all their affairs: We have seen the influence of French vanity in the government, the history, the society of France, we may find it in a remarkable manner even in the commerce. It has established this principle, a very agreeable one, no doubt, viz.—that the way to make money is to spend it. If you ask the editor of a certain newspaper why he has race horses, he tells you that a race horse is an 'advertisement.' His carriage is 'an advertisement;' his dinners are 'advertisements;' his mistress is 'an advertisement'—and the more expensive, and the more

faithless she is, the better 'advertisement' of course she becomes. This is a system: and as an Englishman toils for wealth in order to increase his comforts, so a Frenchman displays his extravagance in order to make his fortune. Well then, you find this vanity the predominating genius of the camp, the court, the counter,—it reigns no less at the Bourse, the Morgue, or the prison. The Frenchman wishes to live with ostentation;* if he cannot do this, he does not care whether he lives or not: like most passions this vanity is good and bad, little and great; now sublime, now ridiculous; but upon the whole, perhaps, it appears in France, as more good than bad, more great than little, even more sublime than ridiculous. Absurd in the drawing room; fatal in darker scenes; it has made the French army the most renowned in the world, and the French nation the most united. But it has also made of the French—a people eminently volatile: eager for changes that promise much: disgusted with utility that cannot boast show, and impatient of plans that run in a slow and quiet course to their perfection.

* In 1810 a 'notaire's' clerk killed himself, leaving a piece of paper behind him, on which he declared that having duly calculated and considered, he did not think it possible for him to be so great a man as Napoléon—therefore he put an end to his existence.

WIT.

Saying of M. de Talleyrand—How many events in France a 'bon-mot' has prepared—Vanity is the principal passion, wit is the principal talent and supplies the chief amusements of the French—They laugh at all things—Their ridicule only lowers you when it lowers themselves in their estimation—Definition of Champfort of the old régime—Power of wit against a government—Discours d'un roi citoyen, 1830—M. Philippon and the pear—Béranger, "Nain jaune," &c.—Dramatic caricatures—Bons-mots or good sayings found among all classes and all ages—Connexion between the French language, and the French wit, and French manners—How far it exists at present in literature and society.

"C'EST bien, c'est très bien et tout ce qu'il faut maintenant ce sont les feux d'artifices et *un bon mot pour le peuple.*" This is the saying with which M. de Talleyrand is reported to have closed one of those revolutions which his talent

and his times have given him the opportunity of deciding—*un bon mot pour le peuple !*—saying well worthy of Pericles, when he captivated that polished and clever people of Greece,—to whom it is impossible to deny, that the gay, the inconstant, the frivolous, and witty people around me, bear a marked resemblance.

How many events in this country has a *bon mot* prepared !—How many has a *bon mot* completed ! A series of *bons mots*, (begun by Voltaire, augmented by Diderot, collected and systematized by Helvetius,)—a series of *bons-mots* destroyed the ancient religion, sapped the foundations of the throne, and travailed the destinies of the monarchy, which Louis XIV. imagined he had fixed for centuries, under the weight of his solemn and imposing genius. "Ce ne sont pas les dépenses générales, ce sont les états généraux qu'il nous faut"—said M. Despremesnil—and a *bon-mot* put that immense machine in motion which rolled heavily over the gay and graceful court of France. "Je ne veux pas être un cochon à l'engrais dans le château royal de Versailles"—said the first consul, with the coarse energy of his character; and the laugh being excited in his favour, he kicked over the speculative pyramid of Abbé Siéyes—"Il n'y a qu'un Français de plus"—is put into the mouth

of the Comte d'Artois;* and as he rides into Paris, all the world are enchanted at the re-

* The following is the account given of the composition of this famous phrase by a late writer who had the opportunity of knowing the truth of what he says:—"Le gouvernement provisoire reçut le Comte d'Artois à la barrière, et M. de Talleyrand l'accueillit par ces paroles:. 'Monseigneur, le bonheur que nous éprouvons sera à son comble, si Monseigneur reçoit avec la bonté divine qui distingue son auguste maison, l'hommage de notre tendresse religieuse.' Le Comte d'Artois répondit quelques phrases vagues, mais son esprit d'à-propos lui manqua. Le soir les membres du gouvernement provisoire, et les *conseillers intimes* de son Altesse Royale, *sentant la nécessité* de faire quelques uns de *ces mots populaires* qui pussent réussir dans l'opinion, et calmer les méfiances, *se réunirent en conseil.* Chacun d'eux composa de son mieux unes de ces phrases d'apparat, une de ces réponses qui pussent se répandre dans Paris et la France. Les uns voulaient que son Altesse Royale parlât comme Lieutenant-Général du royaume, et promît des institutions; les autres, qu'elle se renfermât dans ces mots vagues et alors à la mode: 'Drapeau sans tache,' 'panache blanc' 'fils de saint Louis," &c. Mais enfin une rédaction commune à MM. Beugnot et Talleyrand fut adopteé: on l'envoya a son Altesse Royale, qui l'approuva, et elle fut consignée au Moniteur du lendemain dans les termes suivans: "Messieurs les membres du gouvernement provisoire, je vous remercie de tout le bien que vous avez fait pour notre pays; plus de division!

storation. Even the last revolution did not pass without its saying: "It is an old "garde national," going to visit his ancient general," said Louis Philippe, as he rode up to the Hôtel de Ville: while they who put into Lafayette's mouth the unhappy phrase,—"the monarchy of July is the best of republics" —founded on a new *bon-mot*—a new dynasty. You cannot pass twice round the Palais Royal, or go once to the Variétés without being sensible, that, as vanity is the predominant passion, so wit is the predominant talent, and supplies the principal amusements of the French. They must have wit: not the great world alone—not only your beaux esprits and your men of letters, but the people, the working classes, the mechanics, the watch makers, the carpenters, the stone-masons, the people of the "trades' unions," these must have wit—must be delighted by wit in some shape or other: a joke is their opium—it has the effect of quieting and inspiring them, and sending them home to a good night and pleasant dreams. There is nothing which for the sake of a laugh the French will not contrive to render ridiculous: but there is this to

la paix et la France! Je la revois—cette France—et rien n'est changé, excepté *qu'il y a un français de plus.*" This reply gave universal satisfaction.

observe in respect to their ridicule—it never lowers you in their estimation, except when, by lowering you, it lowers themselves.

If a general be ridiculous, if a government be ridiculous, if a king be ridiculous, woe unto them!—For a general that is ridiculous makes the French army ridiculous, for a government, or a king that is ridiculous makes the French nation ridiculous, and that is an unpardonable offence—but it does not signify two straws to an individual how ridiculous he may be made—no one will think the worse of him for it. Nobody then cares at being laughed at except a king, or a public man. To either of these the joke to others, is no joke. Never was there a government in France that did not tremble at an epigram, and turn pale at a caricature, or a song. Lemercier says in his address to the Academy—"L'histoire de France est écrite par ses chansonniers!" and Chamfort wittily designates the 'old régime' as "an absolute monarchy tempered—by good sayings." The present king and the present government have not been spared.

DISCOURS D'UN ROI CITOYEN L'AN 1830.

Vous souvenez-vous de Jemmapes?
Vous souvenez-vous de Valmy?

J'étais dans vos rangs à Jemmapes,
J'étais dans vos rangs à Valmy,
Fidèle au drapeau de Jemmapes,
Fidèle au drapeau de Valmy,
J'aime le souvenir de Jemmapes,
J'aime le souvenir de Valmy,
C'était en hiver à Jemmapes,
C'était en automne à Valmy,
Et j'avais pour chef à Jemmapes,
Comme j'avais pour chef à Valmy,
Dumourier, vainqueur de Jemmapes,
Kellerman, vainqueur de Valmy,
Si nos ennemis de Jemmapes,
Si nos ennemis de Valmy,
Nous attaquaient comme à Jemmapes,
Nous attaquaient comme à Valmy,
Quoique moins jeune qu'à Jemmapes,
Et quoique plus vieux qu'à Valmy,
Je combattrais comme à Jemmapes,
En combattant comme à Valmy,
Voici mon épée de Jemmapes,
Et ma dragonne de Valmy,
Et quoique je fisse à Jemmapes,
Ce que je fesais à Valmy,
Je ne reçus, comme à Jemmapes,
Aucune blessure à Valmy,
La nuit je rêve de Jemmapes,
Ensuite je songe à Valmy,
Le jour je parle de Jemmapes,
Ensuite je pense à Valmy,
Peut-on trop rêver de Jemmapes,
Peut-on trop parler de Valmy,

Aux fils des héros de Jemmapes,
Aux fils des héros de Valmy,
Fier de Valmy, fier de Jemmapes,
Fier de Jemmapes, fier de Valmy,
On ne dira jamais à Jemmapes,
On ne dira jamais à Valmy,
Que je n'ai rien dit de Jemmapes,
Que je n'ai rien dit de Valmy.

It is not only the pen, the pencil has been put into requisition, and a pretended resemblance between a pear and his majesty's head, has thrown the court into great agitation!!! This is a serious matter, and not very long ago the government prosecuted a hatmaker for insulting the king's person by vending 'casquettes' that had some resemblance to the treasonable fruit.* M. Philippon, the author of this diabolical comparison, has become in consequence the Béranger of the revolution, and his two newspapers, the 'Charivari' and the 'Caricature,' are a little more to fear than the two chambers.

The sole merit of many of the drawings which

* I remember a story of Louis XVIII. who, I think, adopted the wiser policy. A person was arrested for having called him 'gros cochon.' "And has not the man been deprived of his place?" said the monarch, "who could for a moment suppose that a Frenchman *could* mean to call his king—'gros cochon?'"

adorn these papers, is, that they all introduce, in things apparently the least susceptible of it, the odious shape. Through every variety of hat, bonnet, cap, wig, the faithful pencil pourtrays the not-to-be-forgotten pear!—Some of the prints however have a higher merit than this: among the 'musiciens de la Chapelle,' that is—"the deputies of the Chambers," many of the caricatures are good likenesses, and a few little 'jeux d'esprit,' as satirical sketches of men and manners, account for M. Philippon's reputation and the success of his journals.

But besides M. Philippon's, there are a number of small newspapers containing merely a series of epigrams, and these when cleverly contrived are equally formidable to the unfortunate minister who spares no pains to silence them. Thus, I have been told that the first préfet made by M. Guizot, as minister of the interior, was—an editor of 'Figaro,' while by a singular coincidence, the first exercise of his power was a claim—of his box at the Variétés. Even in this incident a trait of French character is to be found. . . . .

As no thorn goes more deep into the side of the King of the French than M. Philippon, so no enemies were so fatal to the restoration as Béranger, 'le Nain Jaune,' and the 'Ta-

blettes politiques.' Nor was it Béranger's more serious and elevated odes, kindling the spirit of liberty, that was most dangerous to the Bourbons; it was the light and satiric songs that, wounding the *vanity*, inspired the *hatred* of the nation—for its bigoted and impotent rulers. The 'Nain Jaune,' written at Brussels, during the earlier period of the restoration, obtained a celebrity which it is now difficult to account for. I have extracted one or two sentences rather as a specimen of the style of this paper than as being very remarkable for their wit.

"Dimanche dernier on arrêta une mercière qui, n'ayant pas fermé sa boutique, selon l'ordonnance de police, avait dit: 'Ils veulent nous faire *détaler*, qu'ils y prennent garde, ils pourraient bien *détaler* avant nous.'"

"Dimanche: Entrée du bœuf-gras dans les Tuileries. *Sa majesté sortait de la messe;* on s'est empressé d'exécuter l'air: '*où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?*'".

"On lit dans les journaux de Paris du 25, l'éloge de la clémence du roi, par maître Bellart; la *condamnation à mort du général Debelle, celle du Général Travot. L'annonce des noces et festins du duc de Berri—Que de sujets de fête pour la cour!*"

"On parle toujours d'un changement dans le

ministère; c'est dit-on Monsieur ou plutôt Madame Angoulême, qui doit remplacer Monsieur le duc de Richelieu, ce qui anéantit entièrement la responsabilité ministérielle; car l'un et l'autre, comme on le sait, sont *inviolables.*"

" Chaque nation à ses usages. On assure que le grand-inquisiteur a offert au roi Ferdinand *de faire un auto-da-fé de six hérétiques le jour de son mariage;* et que Clarke a proposé de *fêter celui* du duc de Berri, *en faisant fusiller deux maréchaux, quatre généraux, et six colonels!*" * . . . . .

I have said that ridicule is only of consequence to those who, by being ridiculous, humiliate the vanity of their countrymen: a singular proof of this is constantly occurring. No sooner has any piece succeeded at any of the larger theatres, than it is sure to be travestied at a small one. The burlesque attracts crowds: every body laughs, every body is delighted; but nobody takes a dislike to the author, or fancies him one tittle the worse for the ridicule that has been cast upon him.

Some of the dramatic caricatures, written even as they are on the spur of the moment, are

* This was at the time of the proscriptions and executions.

not without a certain cleverness. Rather hard on the modern school of dramatists, says one of them—

"A croire ces Messieurs, on ne voit dans nos rues
Que les enfans trouvés et les femmes perdues."

I remember too being much amused by the last four lines of "Cricri et ses mitrons," a burlesque of Henri III., one of the best of the new plays, but depending altogether for its plot on the Duchesse de Guise's lost pocket handkerchief.

"Messieurs et Mesdames cette piéce est morale—
Elle prouve aujourd'hui sans faire de scandale—
Que chez un amant, lorsqu'on va le soir,
On peut oublier tout . . . . excepté son mouchoir."

Few people have ever been remarkable in France without having a witticism of some kind attached to their reputation.

Henri IV. reigned by bons-mots—even Bonaparte made them. One evening, when he was better pleased with Madlle. Georges, the present heroine of the Porte St. Martin, than usual, pulling her by the ear, (which was his favourite endearment,) he told her, in the way that Emperors make love, "*to ask for any thing* she wanted." The actress, rather mistaking her

part, asked very sentimentally for his Imperial Majesty's portrait. "O! if that is all you want," said Napoleon, who rather disapproved of the familiarity,—"if that is all you want,"—and he took a five franc piece out of his waistcoat pocket, "here is my portrait, and a very good likeness it is." M. de Talleyrand, at the present time, is the great monopolist of good sayings. The character of M. de S——e is pretty well known. He did not make his appearance one morning as usual, at the Chamber of Peers. "But, why is not M. de S. here?" says M. de Talleyrand. "M. de S. est malade," said an acquaintance; "Ha! ha!" replies the old statesman, shaking his head, "M. S. est malade!—Mais qu'est-ce donc *qu'il gagne à être malade!*" So, talking one day with a lady, rather universal in her acquirements—"Which do you like best, M. de Talleyrand?" said the lady, "Madame de—(a very pretty person,) or myself?" The reply was not quite so decisive as the fair and accomplished questioner expected. "Well, now," said she; "but suppose we were both to fall into the sea, which should you first try to save?" "Oh! madame," said the prince, "*I should be quite certain that you could swim.*" As many of these learned ladies are now writing their memoirs, and that in rather a liberal vein, I cannot help

furnishing them with at once a motto and a lesson in the true and clever reply of Madame de Staal (Mademoiselle Delaunay) to an acquaintance—"Did you tell every thing in your memoirs?" said the acquaintance.; "Je ne me suis peinte qu'en buste," said Mme. de Staal.

Delille was remarkable for his dislike to have the unprinted works, which he was in the habit of declaiming, committed to paper. One day this poet, who was blind, was reciting his compositions as usual, when Madame Dubourg, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy, took a small crow quill and began writing very softly—not so softly, however, but that Monsieur Delille heard the scratching of the pen against the paper: continuing, however, in his usual tone of voice, instead of the lines that were expected from him, he said—

"Et tandis que je dis mes chefs-d'œuvre divers,
Un corbeau devient pie et me vole mes vers."

Voltaire was liberated from the Bastille (where he had been confined as the suspected author of a satire) on the success of Œdipe; at which the regent was so delighted, that he permitted the author to return to Paris. His first visit was a visit of thanks to the prince who had

granted him his liberty—"Soyez sage, et *j'aurai soin de vous*;" said the regent. "Je remercie votre altesse," said Voltaire, "de ce qu'elle veut bien se charger *de ma nourriture*, mais je la supplie de ne plus se charger *de mon logement*."

A lady being asked—why she married her son, who was poor, to an heiress 'roturière,' said, "Il faut bien quelquefois *fumer*" (manure) "*ses terres*."

This point and quickness of repartee exists amongst the lowest classes in France, quite as much as amongst the highest. I remember during a hard frost, and at a time when Monsieur de Villèle was at the height of his unpopularity, and every vision of courtly tyranny was believed—seeing a poor fellow fall down with some violence, while a couple of well dressed young men stopped to laugh at him. "De quoi riez-vous Messieurs?" said the unfortunate man, rubbing his side; "dans ce pays-ci les pauvres gens sont toujours par terre." What is more—the kind of wit I speak of is alive even at a nursery age. Monsieur de Ségur tells us the story of a child who being present at the opera of Castor and Pollux, was asked by Prince Henry of Prussia, (brother of the great Frederic,) who Castor and Pollux were. "They are," said the child, "two twin brothers who

came out of the same egg. But you, you came out of an egg yourself—did not you?" The boy immediately said—

"Ma naissance n'a rien de neuf,
J'ai suivi la commune règle
Mais c'est vous qui sortez d'un œuf
Car vous êtes—un aigle.

Certainly we cannot find little children quite so prompt or so poetical as Master Sebran every day; but even where there is not wit, there is frequently at this tender age a pretension to it—a desire to astonish, and to produce effect, which we do not see among our own maternal progenies. I asked two little village boys, one seven, the other eight years old, what they meant to be when they were men? Says one, "I shall be the doctor of the village." And you, what shall you be? said I to the other. "Oh! if brother's a doctor, I'll be curé. He shall kill the people, and I'll bury them—so we shall have the whole village between us."

Any one who takes any pains to examine the French language will see the reciprocal effect which the wit produced upon the manners, the manners upon the wit of the French. No sooner was society formed, and that men and

women, according to modern fashion, mixed freely together, than the grace which succeeded best in society, and gave the admirer the fairest chance with his mistress, was the grace of conversation;—that happy turn and choice of words, that brilliant and piquant 'setting' of ideas, that gay and lively method of being satirical and serious, which had been brought to such perfection at the time of the revolution. It had been brought to such perfection, because, while it was decreed the charm of society, society was the only road to ambition. The man of ambition and ability then went to a 'soirée' or a 'souper' with the same intention to shine by his wit that our orators in going to the House of Commons had to shine by their eloquence. He gave that attention to his conversation that we gave to our discourses. A 'bon mot' was likely to carry a man as far in one country as a good speech would in another; and the position which Pym acquired in the long Parliament by his orations, De la Rochefoucauld obtained in the Fronde by his epigrams. But the talent so cultivated by one sex aspiring to power, was just the talent best calculated to be imitated and to be polished by that other sex which during the long reign of royal mistresses had the faculty of giving power. The

women who mixed with the wittiest and cleverest men of their time became themselves clever and witty. The courtier and the 'courtezan' formed themselves on each other: where a phrase was a fortune a thousand remarkable phrases were made: applauded, circulated, they became popular modes of expression. In this manner the language was perpetually enriched: in this manner it took its epigrammatic and sententious form: in this manner it became such a collection of witticisms, that to talk French well was to be a witty man. Nor was this without its advantages—for in every evil there is implanted a germ of good, tending to its correction: and this style of conversation sprung from a debauched and tyrannical court, became in time, as Madame de Stael has shrewdly observed, a powerful substitute for the liberty of the press. A course of events which brought new men into action, and which opened for politics a very different field of contention, has produced a considerable change in the language of the writers, and in the conversation of the society of Paris. The latter has even lost that epigrammatic tone of speaking, that dry and peculiar inflexion of the voice, formerly general, now hardly preserved by any but by M. de Talleyrand, and which arising

from the habit of uttering witticisms will frequently by itself pass for wit: but yet in no other society does one hear the same sharp and clever hits, the same pointed and philosophic aphorisms, the same happy and elegant turns of expression that one even yet meets in the society of Paris. So much for conversation—while literature, by the power, the pomp and ostentatious expressions that it has acquired of late years has enriched, but not lost its ancient genius. Wit is still the talent which in every department has the most success—for instance, who is the most *popular* prose writer of the modern day? P. Courier. Who is the most *popular* poet? Béranger. Who is the most *popular* dramatist? Scribe. Who is the most *popular* orator? M. Thiers.

GAIETY AND FRIVOLITY.

The Place Vendôme during the Regency and at the time of Law—The calamities of that time darkening every thing else, did not darken the gaiety of France—Saying of M. de Rennes—Is gaiety happiness?—Why the French were formerly so frivolous—Little change in manner till the restoration—Character of the Directory—Aim of Bonaparte—Warlike gaiety of the empire—The return of the Bourbons—The Constitutional Government established the first great change—Tables of Dupin—The French character changed, but not so much changed as he would infer—The institutions of a country cannot change its former character, without that character operating upon existing institutions—The influence of climate and race—The French, if they do preserve a constitution will still be gay—Wise legislators improve what is good rather than eradicate what is bad in the character of a people—Montesquieu in one extreme; Bentham in the other.

An old soldier is now standing by the column of the Place Vendôme, and the carriage of a deputy is traversing the Square—the carriage

rolls along quickly, for the deputy expects to be too late for the budget. I think I could paint the Place of 'Louis le Grand' in livelier colours:—Lo! there are tents: not the tents of war—the canvass is too white and delicate—There are tents—beneath the canopy of which you will find the cups of Venice, and the chains of Malta, and the cloths of Persia, and the silks of Ind; and the avenues between are soft to the feet, for they are spread with the richest and most moss-like carpets, and at every corner you are offered the juice of the orange and the citron; and if your pulse flag it may be stimulated by the vintage of Champagne, and if your lip be feverish it may be cooled by the ice of the Pyrennees; and by night and by day the musician, and the courtezan, and the juggler forbid the festivity to repose; and the gay 'seigneurs' and the gentle and graceful ladies of the riotous court of France form part of the many-coloured group, which, reader—I would bring before you! What is the business for which these tents are pitched?—what cause has collected this crowd of musicians, courtezans, and jugglers?—and why are the great ladies and the high dignitaries, who in days of state are to be seen in the royal chambers of the regent, among the indolent loungers and

the noisy speculators of yon unhallowed place? Yea, speculators—for that scene, gay and brilliant as it appears to you, is the sombre and fatal spot from which bankruptcy is departing to every corner of the kingdom: it is there that, already degraded by a frantic avarice, a once chivalric people—amidst all the symbols of mirth and wealth, and flushed with the shameful passions of the Stock Exchange* are witnessing, like the Hunchback's brother in the Arabian story, the transformation of their gold into dry and withered leaves, which the wind, as so many signs and tokens of an avenging Providence, will soon scatter over the most fertile provinces of France. Thus was it:—but the nation had not merely to regret its gold;—the honour, which Montesquieu calls "the education of a monarchy," and which, of such a monarchy as that of the French, was the vital principle, the only moral and enduring force—that honour sunk beneath the projects of Law, and the sentiment—which was the fortune of the ancient régime—never ceased to languish after being

* During the infatuation of Law and towards its decline, 'the stock exchange,' to use a modern term, was transferred from the Rue Quincampoix to the Place Vendôme, which exhibited a scene similar to that I have painted.

exposed to the infection which breathed amidst the flowers and the festivities of that voluptuous and terrible bazar.

So much for ancient France—for France during the elegant reign of tyranny and pleasure. So much for France when she was careless and gay in all times and in all places; treating the lighest matters with an air of importance, the gravest with a passion for amusement. So much for France with her joyous dance and her dark Bastille, her bankrupt exchequer and her shameless court. Then was the moment to have known her!. Then was the moment to have known her—if you wish to have known a country which, already bound to the altar, was decorated with the garlands of the victim. Then was there wit and gaiety, but neither virtue, nor character, nor greatness. The majesty of the monarchy had followed the independence of the nobility—both were gone. The martial enterprize of the League no longer mingled with the masked debauch—a cold system of licentiousness had succeeded the valiant follies of the French. Dead was the chivalry of that intoxicating time, when the smile of beauty was the graceful incentive to rebellion; when the conflict was sought rather to vary the amusements of society than to change the destinies of

the people; while the art of the Roman gladiator rose to its perfection, and death was studied for the purpose of dying—in an agreeable position. The reign of the regent emasculated the character, chilled the enthusiasm, blunted the honour,—but, black as were the wings of pestilence and ruin—it did not for an instant darken the gaiety of the French. Amidst all her changes, that gaiety remained the characteristic of olden France, and with that gaiety there was a frivolity, a light and frivolous air which set naturally on the philosopher as on the fop—which was in manners even where it was not in ideas—which was on the surface of society where it was not at the core. Never was France more gay than when our graceful and plaintive poet* wandered with his pipe by the banks of the Loire. But are gaiety and happiness terms necessarily synonymous? . . . . . .

Madame de Sévigné gives us her conversation with a certain M. de Rennes, who did not choose to trim his beard until a trial which affected him was decided. "I should be a great fool," said the gentleman, "to take any pains about my head until I know whom it belongs to. The king disputes it with me; when I know whose head it is, then indeed, if it be

* Goldsmith.

my head, I'll take care of it." Now, the uncertainty which M. de Rennes felt about his head, was just that uncertainty which the French, during the days of the Bastille, felt about their understanding, and which made them neglect the cultivation of its more stern and bold and masculine characteristics. The right to exercise those higher faculties, which so far from withdrawing us from happiness are generally devoted to the study of how happiness, in its more comprehensive sense, may best be procured—the right to exercise those faculties was almost *prohibited* by *not being defined.* Much liberty of opinion was exercised, undoubtedly, by a few men in the eighteenth century, whose influence was the greater from the novelty of the task they undertook. But of these men, the most exalted passed many of his years in exile; nor let it be forgotten, that it was to the composition of a bad opera that the moralist of Geneva owed his most signal and perhaps his most gratifying success. Voltaire, the wit, the poet, the cynic, was also, as eminently, courtier, and aimed his shafts against the throne, the aristocracy, and the altar, under the shelter of royal correspondences and courtly friendships; the most popular writer of the day, because he was the least pe-

dantic—the deep portent of his thoughts was passed by on account of the grace and gaiety with which he delivered them; and princes had the "good taste" to pardon the popular principles of a philosopher, who preached with the easy sprightliness of a page. The only grave career, during the old monarchy was—the church: and so the only men of commanding capacity who appeared at that time appeared in the uniform of Rome. But the road even to clerical honours lay through the boudoirs of the court: and the proud and stately Richelieu is said to have danced in a harlequin's costume before Anne of Austria—in the vain attempt to gain the favours of that haughty princess. "En Espagne," said a French philosopher of the eighteenth century,* "En Espagne on demande—*est—ce un grand de la première classe?* En Allemagne—*peut-il entrer dans les chapîtres?* En France—*est—il bien à la cour?* En Angleterre—*Quel homme est-il?*" England was then the only country in which a man was valued for himself; because England was the only country at that time in which a man who possessed the advantages which placed him in a public career, could seize, command, and hold, without the aid and as-

* Helvetius.

sistance of any one, a situation measured by his own abilities. The more lofty and independent, and grave, pursuits, were those which led to the highest honours and the greatest esteem: and this gave a lofty and independent air, a more than natural gravity to the grave and serious character of our people. The objects of ambitious men were the same in France and in England—power and distinction. Ambitious men know no other objects: but the paths which led to these objects were different—different in a manner which rendered the grave and serious people more grave and serious, and the gay and frivolous people more gay and frivolous. One ceases to be astonished at the importance which Louis XIV. gave to the arrangement of a cotillon, as one remembers that he was regulating the political career of his court—"Society," as I have said in the preceding chapter, "was at that time the road to ambition," and *all* the gaieties and graces of society were studied, as wit *more especially* was studied not merely for the sake of being amiable in the world but for the sake of rising in it.

"Ce jeune homme ira loin!" said an old 'marquis', in the later days of Louis XIV., "ses manières sont parfaites et il danse fort bien." This was the court—the resort of noble

adventurers, avid of fortune and honours, which were only to be obtained by the smile of the sovereign—a smile which was very frequently the simple reflection of that to be solicited from the sovereign's mistress. This was the court—and the capital imitated the court, and chose their magistrates for their manners; and the provinces imitated the capital, and voted the most money to the governors who gave them the best balls.* But if one class was gay and frivolous, very frequently as the best means of obtaining power; another was equally frivolous and gay because it had no means of obtaining it. The richer persons indeed engaged in commerce, the middle orders, as we should call them, the close of whose career was to be the purchase of 'a charge,'—(the first step towards the nobility of their grandsons)—these, as I think I have elsewhere observed, were of a graver aspect, and more demure demeanour—they felt themselves obliged to be—*respectable*, because they were *not noble*. But the lowest and the highest of society, the 'quality' and the 'canaille,' gave themselves up alike, heart and soul, to amusement; the only difference being that the one sought pleasure—because they were shut out

* Madame de Sevigné.

from business; the other—because pleasure was, in fact, to them—a business.

From the death of Louis XVI. up to the restoration, the public events of the time, great as they were, hardly penetrated into private life: manners altered less than one might suppose; the actors who took a part in society were new; the drama was almost the same. If the Court of the Luxembourg were more vulgar, it was not less frivolous and voluptuous than that of Versailles; nor was Louis XV. himself more accessible to female influence than the citizen Barras. As for Napoleon; his policy was to revive the memory of Louis XIV. The maxims, of that reign, "qu'il fallait mettre dans les vertus une certaine noblesse, dans les mœurs une certaine franchise, dans les manières une certaine politesse;"*—the maxims which the great philosopher of France deemed necessary to keep together the elements of the old monarchy, and which were equally calculated to preserve the military empire, came again into vogue: to elevate the dignity of the court—to dazzle and deceive the eyes of the people—to raise a prestige round the throne—(fortune was to take the place of legitimacy)—to repair the

* Montesquieu.

old system with new materials, and thus to preserve the ancient manners;—this was the policy of the First Consul; a policy which he openly commenced by assuming the imperial garment, and as openly consummated by allying himself to the House of Hapsbourg. The lower classes of the people were to be pleased with his government for its fêtes; the higher to be attached to his person by rewards. The sterner motives of individual action, and the sterner careers that belong to them, were closed: a man was nothing by himself, the emperor's favour made him all—and for the excellent reason therefore given by Monsieur de Rennes at the beginning of this chapter, he had all that gaiety and frivolity which springs from the carelessness of an uncertain and dependent and ill-regulated existence. And now, while the luxury, and the amusements, and the despotism of the empire, kept up among the people the joyous and unthinking character of olden times, its perils and its victories gave to the gaiety of this adventurous epoch a martial air, which sat not ungracefully on a nation of warriors—descendants of the soldiers of Louis XIV., and themselves the conquerors of almost every capital in Europe.

In the movement and bustle of those days,

when events marched with a velocity that made, what we counted as seventeen years, an age for history and posterity; in that busy and brilliant time, when in every street you heard the crying of the bulletin, and the beating of the drum—and existence was a dream of arms, and uniforms, and decorations: then the song accompanied the soldier to the bivouac;* by the affectionate 'sobriquet' which he gave to his captain ('le petit caporal,') the conscript recompensed himself for the fatigues of the campaign; and long after the despotism and selfishness of Bonaparte had become visible to the nation—in the camp he was still beloved. But no man as the philosopher said to Crœsus, knows his fortune until his death.†

* There is a poet, the soldier-like gaiety of whose genius entitles him to be the chronicler of that period; and as one of the many curious spectacles of our time, we see a republican bard, chaunting the gaiety and the glories of a military tyranny, under the ægis of that constitutional liberty whose moderation he despised.

† There are few subjects which caused more trouble and perturbation during the middle ages than the corpse of St. Denis. No sooner did one monastery boast itself in quiet possession of this invaluable relic, than it was indignantly answered by another; and, as

It was with a spirit of prophecy that Verniaud spoke of the revolution of '89, as 'Saturn devouring his offspring:'—the empire fell in its turn, as had successively fallen every system to which that powerful struggle between intelligence and ignorance had given birth: the empire fell—the Bourbons returned to their ancient palace; and the temple which had been dedicated 'to glory,'* was consecrated 'to religion'—and the palace of Bonaparte's senate was occupied by the Deputies of France.

This change was the greatest that had yet taken place in the fate of the nation, and was the most likely to exercise an influence over its

is usually the case, the last having the best of the dispute, the faithful always flocked to the shrine of the new pretendant. At last, however, a corpse was found which, to use the words of the Chronicle, was "envelopé en un drap de soie, si viel, et porri que il s'evanouissait et devenait poudre;" and it was determined, according to custom, that this was the veritable body of St. Denis—so the 'Comité de salut Public,' the Directory, the consulate, the empire, all in turn enjoyed a glorious reputation for the sanctity of their origin; but in the year 1814, the persons who happened to be most powerful, declared, under circumstances very similar to those I have narrated, that the *true St. Denis* was at last discovered, and fêtes and fireworks commemorated the event of the restoration.

* The Madeleine.

character. For the first time for centuries, the Frenchman ceased to be a gambler or solicitor after honours; his existence no longer depended upon a lucky hit or a dexterous application; with ability and attention he might almost *calculate* —and there is great force in that word—he might almost *calculate* upon regularly rising to the first place in the state, and being illustrated by the opinion of his fellow-countrymen. The career to which ambition now called him, was one of a solid and serious character; and required time and perseverance as the necessities of success. Nor was the effect which this was likely to have upon the national character merely confined to those, who aspired to the eminent situation of which I speak: a representative government has this advantage, viz.—that it spreads over the whole country those virtues and those talents which are required in the representative assembly. The man who is asked to choose a person to represent his interests, naturally begins to reflect on what his interests are, and the qualities for which he selects another, become the qualities which he himself is anxious to possess. This effect, natural under any circumstance to a representative government, would develope itself of course more forcibly and more rapidly where

a free press was daily publishing the debates of the representatives, and commenting—with all the facility and all the ingenuity with which men not engaged in affairs, can criticize the actions of those who are—upon every word, and every syllable that fell from the national tribune.

Causes like these could not be in operation for sixteen years without, in some degree, producing the consequence to be expected, viz.—that of infusing a more grave and masculine character into the society, which, still sensible to pleasure, was less able to unite it with politics and ambition.

By the table of Monsieur Dupin, published in 1828, the change I speak of appears. Compare the publications of 1812, 1820, 1826; you will find, that the kingdom of France, reduced within its ancient limits, published twice as many works as the empire did at the moment of its widest extent; and remark! that while in every class of publication there is a considerable increase; remark! as the most important fact of all, that the increase is far greater in those productions, the object of which is to improve the mind, than in those that are composed with the simple desire to amuse it. That part of literature consecrated to the pleasures of the imagination, and which held the first rank

in the empire, held the second under the constitution—and gave place to history, voyages, and biography; while the writings dedicated to the study and knowledge of the laws, advanced in popularity and consideration. "Ainsi," says Monsieur Dupin, "par l'heureux effet de nos institutions les goûts de la France *ont perdu* de la frivolité. Les études graves ont gagné: la littérature philosophique—l'étude de la jurisprudence et des lois—la méditation de l'histoire—l'observation, la comparaison des mœurs et des coûtumes—les productions de l'art et de la nature qui caractérisent les nations contemporaines et les contrées qu'elles habitent.—Voilà les objets principaux vers lesquels s'est dirigé l'esprit de la nation Française." The able writer whom I cite, is rather too apt to overcharge his pictures with the colour that momentarily predominates in his mind. The French during the restoration, lost a little of their gaiety, more of their frivolity: but the change has certainly not been so great as Monsieur Dupin would give us to understand; nor, must we entirely forget, when we reckon among our proofs of an increasing seriousness of disposition, an increase in the sale of more serious literary productions, that these productions have themselves of late years become more light and more amusing. There are

many circumstances still active in conserving that gay and joyful and frivolous character for which the French were formerly distinguished. The influence of youth, the influence of women, at once causes and effects of a peculiar disposition and a peculiar state of society, are among the principal of these; nor while we estimate the consequences of the representative institutions of France, are we to forget, that out of thirty-three millions of individuals, there are only two hundred thousand directly affected by them.

Again, we must not suppose that the institutions of a country are to change the former character of its people, without that former character having a great influence upon its existing institutions; and as the natural condition of many political vicissitudes, we must long expect to see the French nation exposed to the difficulty of reconciling the habits it derived from a despotic government with those which are resulting from a free constitution. The very language which has descended from generation to generation, as the expression of certain habits and ideas, exercises, in its turn, a daily recurring influence, which no laws or treatises can efface—and the sky, and the climate, and the natural disposition—I grant that the philoso-

phers were wrong, who preached that the governments of nations depended wholly upon these—but rely upon it also, that they must have their influence, that we cannot arbitrarily give ourselves the institutions and the habits that we please; rely upon it, that man does not wholly depend upon man; but that nature and God have an influence, difficult to trace, but impossible to deny, in the destinies of every people upon earth!

Years then may roll on, and the light and joyous character of the French, already changed, may undergo further changes. The sedater character which has seated itself upon the front of society, may penetrate nearer to its heart; the greater seriousness which we observe spread over certain classes of the nation, may have a broader basis and a deeper root; years may roll on—and that august edifice which you see on the borders of the Seine, may still resound with the eloquence of the constitutional tribune; —years may roll on—and the gates of the pantheon yet be open to the ashes of the senators who have merited well of their country;—all this may be; and yet, as long as the gay sun which is now shining, gilds the yellow valleys of Provence, and ripens the purple vintage of Burgundy and Champagne—so long must much that we see

now—much of that which belongs to the unthinking and joyous spirit which coloured the religion, the policy, the triumphs of the olden time—which entered into the church, the palace, and the camp —brightening, corrupting, enlivening—making things worse, and rendering them more tolerable,—much of this must yet remain; nor until you can make their skies and their soil, their climate and their clouds alike, need you believe that the same laws will produce the same effects upon a race, vowed to labour, repudiating recreation, fanatical in business, politics, and religion—and upon the careless, incredulous, gallant, active, intelligent, philosophic, and joyous people —whom I am contemplating as I guide my pen along this paper. Procrustes had a bed of iron, on which we know he was so obliging as to fit all travellers whom he caught, by dislocating the limbs of those who were too short, and chopping off the members of those who had the misfortune to be too tall; in this manner he arranged every one according to his model. I am not of the philosophy of Procrustes; I am for giving intelligence to all—it is the soil of liberty —the soil from which the tree should spring—but I am not for torturing its growth or twisting its branches into any fantastic symmetry of my

own. Let it grow from the habits, the manners, the customs amidst which it rises—let it freely take its form! I do not expect that form to be without defects; I am satisfied if these defects are not great ones. I do not wish one nation to be austere, because I find austerity coupled with virtue in another; nor do I look with contempt upon the frivolities which I see accompanied by a certain enthusiasm and a certain grandeur. The wisest legislators, instead of endeavouring to eradicate what is bad from the character of a people, devote themselves to the improvement of what is good. "If there be a nation in the world," says the French philosopher, "which possesses a social humour, an open heart, a disposition tuned to joy, a correct taste, a facility in expressing its ideas—if there be a nation lively, agreeable, jovial, sometimes imprudent, often indiscreet, and which withal—has courage, generosity, frankness, honour—beware how you attempt to set a bridle upon its manners, lest you also subdue its virtues. If in general the character be good, what signify a few defects? It would not be difficult to restrain the women, to make laws to correct their morals, and to moderate their luxury, but who knows if we should not

thereby dry up the source of the riches, and destroy the charm, of the nation. The legislator should follow the spirit of the people: we do nothing so well as that which we do hardily and freely. If you give an air of pedantry to a nation naturally gay, the state will gain nothing.* 'Ni pour le dedans, ni pour le dehors —Laissez lui faire les choses frivoles sérieusement, et gaîment les choses sérieuses!" The

* "S'il y avait dans le monde une nation qui eût une humeur sociale, une ouverture de cœur, une joie dans la vie, un goût, une facilité à communiquer ses pensées; qui fût vive, agréable, enjouée, quelque fois imprudente, souvent indiscrète, et qui eût avec cela du courage, de la générosité, de la franchise, un certain point d'honneur, il ne faudrait point chercher à gêner ses manières, pour ne point gêner ses vertus: si en général le caractère est bon, qu'importe de quelques défauts qui s'y trouvent? On y pourrait contenir les femmes, faire des lois pour corriger leurs mœurs et borner leur luxe; mais qui sait si on n'y perdrait pas un certain goût qui serait la source des richesses de la nation? C'est au législateur à suivre l'esprit de la nation lorsqu'il n'est pas contraire au principe du gouvernement; car nous ne fesons rien de mieux que ce que nous fesons librement, et en suivant notre génie naturel. Qu'on donne un esprit de pédanterie à une nation naturellement gaie, l'état n'y gagnera rien, ni pour le dedans ni pour le dehors."

maxims of Montesquieu, almost imcompatible with change, are erroneous in one extreme; the philosophy of Bentham, with set and universal forms for every change, is equally erroneous in the other.

CRIME.

Let us look for the character we have remarked in the pleasures of the French in their crimes—Write to advance no dogma—M. Guerry's work—Table of crimes in each of the five districts into which he has divided France—The most singular calculation that ever yet appeared—What law, what chance, what instruction has to do with it?—What influences are visible upon crime—The climate and the seasons—Influence of age, of sex—Motives for crime—Natural children—Suicides—Writings of persons having committed suicide—What M. Guerry's tables teach, always taught—Return to investigation set out with—How far is the gallantry, the vanity, and frivolity of the French connected with their crimes?—Having spoke of the character, proceed to speak of the history of the French.

I AM arrived at a place where I would wish to cast my eye back over the chapters I have just concluded. The French, it appears, are gay, gallant, witty, vain. We have seen them in their amusements—we have followed them to the ball-room, and the guinguette, and the theatre;

the gloomy avenue now before us, leads to—the prison. We have discovered this people's character in their pleasures, let us look for it in their crimes!

Now, if there be any truth in what I have already said, it seems justifiable to believe, that there are certain qualities, propensities, and passions, which characterizing one people from another, will wind themselves into all our legislative enactments. Moreover, if the book I am writing has any merit, it is that of being written without the object of advancing any legislative dogma of my own. Every person living and reading at the present time, must remember an infinitude of forced systems in economy, politics, and morals, each in their turn giving place to some new system, which appearing last, has, like the rod of Moses, devoured the rods of the Egyptians.

I cannot think with one of the most strange and positive of modern speculators,* that the sea is rapidly becoming lemonade, and that nature has in her wisdom reserved a tailed appendix to future generations: neither am I, for similar scruples, disposed to credit, that the

* M. Fourrier de Dijon, the founder of the *Phalansterian* sect, of which I shall have occasion to speak, when I speak of the modern philosophy of France.

many tribes of the world are endowed with precisely the same dispositions, and to be fitted, as a matter of course, by precisely the same governments and institutions. The various nostrums which have in turn been promulgated as certain specifics for our various civil disorders, were about as likely to be uniformly efficacious as those balsams, cordials, and sudorifics which medicine daily offers to our corporeal infirmities, as equally adapted to the stone, the gravel, and the gout. Looking rather at the effects which have been produced by your state-pharmacopolists, than at the pompous puffs with which they have usually announced themselves, I do confess, that I somewhat incline to the belief, that each race and each country has peculiarities almost impossible to eradicate—and which therefore it is wiser in the legislator, instead of fruitlessly attempting to *destroy*, sagaciously to endeavour to *direct*. But this theory requires a perpetual attention to what is passing around, and to what has passed before, us—a perpetual accumulation of knowledge, and perpetual variations in the application of knowledge, and I do not therefore marvel at finding it less popular than the doctrines of that easier school, which in twenty pages gives *all* that it is possible to know for the government and the happiness of *all* the nations of the earth.

I am led to these reflections by a new statistical work by M. Guerry,* a work remarkable on many accounts, more especially remarkable on this account—that it bowls down at once all the ninepins with which late statists had been amusing themselves, and sets up again many of the old notions, which from their very antiquity were out of vogue.

Some very wise persons have declared that crimes depended *wholly* upon laws, others that they depended *wholly* upon, what they called, instruction; while a few, with a still falser philosophy, have passed in their contempt for all existing rules, from the niceties of calculation, to the vagueness of accident, and insinuated, not daring to assert, that vice and virtue are the mere 'rouge et noir' of life, the pure effects of chance and hazard. Against all these champions, M. Guerry enters the field. Dividing France into five *regions*† or districts, composed each of 17 departments, and dividing the

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* *Statistique morale de la France.*

† DIVISION OF FRANCE INTO FIVE REGIONS.

	Population.
North.—Aisne, Ardennes, Calvados, Eure, Manche, Marne, Meuse, Moselle, Nord, Oise, Orne, Pas-de-Calais, Seine, Seine-Inférieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine et Oise, Somme - - - -	8,757,700

crimes committed in each of these regions into two classes—*i. e.*, 'crimes against property,' and 'crimes against the person,' the following table, taking one hundred as the number of crimes committed in France, gives the result of his calculations.

	Population.
South.—Ardèche, Arriège, Aude, Aveyron, Bouches du Rhône, Gard, Haute-Garonne, Gers, Hérault, Lot, Lozère, Hautes-Pyrénées, Pyrénées Orientales, Tarn, Tarn et Garonne, Vaucluse, Var . .	4,826,493
East.—Ain, Basses Alpes, Hautes Alpes, Aube, Côte d'or, Doubs, Drôme, Isère, Jura, Haute Marne, Meurthe, Bas Rhin, Haut Rhin, Rhone, Haute Saone, Saone et Loire, Vosges	5,840,99
West.—Charente, Charente Inférieure, Côtes du Nord, Dordogne, Finistère, Gironde, Ille et Vilaine, Landes, Loire Inférieure, Lot et Garonne, Maine et Loire, Mayenne, Morbihan, Basses Pyrénées, Dèux Sevres, Vendée, Vienne .	7,008,788
Centre.—Allier, Cantal, Cher, Correze, Creuse, Eure et Loire, Indre, Indre et Loire, Loire, Loir et Cher, Loiret, Haute Loire, Nèvre, Puy de Dôme, Sarthe, Haute-Vienne, Yonne	5,238,905
Corse . .	185,079
Total Population	31,857,961

Crimes against the Person.

Regions.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	Average.
North	25	24	23	26	25	24	25
South	28	26	22	23	25	23	24
East	17	21	19	20	19	19	19
West	18	16	21	17	17	16	18
Centre	12	13	15	14	14	18	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Crimes against Property.

Regions.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	Average.
North	41	42	42	43	44	44	42
South	12	11	11	12	12	11	12
East	18	16	17	16	14	15	16
West	17	19	19	17	17	17	18
Centre	12	12	11	12	13	13	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Of all the marvellous calculations ever yet published, this calculation is perhaps the most marvellous; for whatever the basis on which the computation is made,* it is not a whit the less

* M. Guerry takes the number of persons accused, as the basis of his calculations; for where there is a person accused, there, he says, naturally enough, there must be a crime committed; but it may so happen, that where five or six persons are accused of a crime, only one may have committed it, and *vice versâ*. This is among many of the observations that might be

wonderful that it should in six successive years give an almost similar result; and this, not in one species of crime—not in one division of France, but in all the divisions of France, and in each distinct class of crime! . . . Thus maintaining between the different portions of the kingdom, a particular and almost invariable criminal ratio, (if I may thus express myself,) which none of the many casualties to which human life is subject, seem effectually to alter or control.

A difference of this kind cannot be the effect of law, for the law in all parts of France is the same—it cannot be the effect of accident, because, it would not, surely, in that case, perpetually recur. What has instruction to do with it—I mean that kind of instruction, on which persons, considering these subjects, usually found their propositions?

made upon the general accuracy of these kind of tables. Monsieur Guerry's method, however, seems as likely to be correct as another, for, in taking the basis of convictions, you would only alter your errors; and indeed the original documents are collected in the same manner by the minister of justice. It is to be regretted that we have not before us, however, all the elements from which these tables are formed—tables, which of themselves, if accurate, afford sufficient matter for the most important work on history and legislation that has yet appeared.

INSTRUCTION.

Distribution of Instruction in the Five Regions.

A. ENROLLED YOUNG MEN.			B. ACCUSED.			C. PUPILS.	
Proportion of the number of young men, who can read and write, out of those inscribed on the registre of the Military Census.			Proportion of the number of accused, knowing at least how to read, out of the total number of accused brought before the Court of Assize.			Proportion of the number of male pupils, compared with the population.	
On 100 young men knowing how to read and write.			On 100 accused knowing how to read.			One pupil on habitants.	
REGIONS.	Years 1827.	1828. 1829.	REGIONS.	Years 1828.	1829. 1830.	REGIONS.	Year 1829.
East	51	+E.55 +E.58	+East	52	+E.52 +E.53	— East	14
North	48	N.53 N.55	North	49	N.47 N.47	North	16
South	32	S.33 S.34	South	31	S.28 S.30	South	43
West	26	W.27 W.27	Centre	29	W.25 W.24	West	45
Centre	24	—C.25 —C.25	—West	25	—C.23 —C.23	+Centre	48



Pub.d by E. Bentley, London, 1834

INSTRUCTION.

No.	DEPARTMENTS.	No. of young men knowing how to read and write out of 100 inscribed.
1	Meuse	74
2	Doubs	73
3	Jura	73
4	Haute-Marne	72
5	Haut-Rhin	71
6	Seine	71
7	Hautes-Alpes	69
8	Meurthe	68
9	Ardennes	67
10	Marne	63
11	Vosges	62
12	Bas-Rhin	62
13	Côte-d'Or	60
14	Haute-Saône	59
15	Aube	59
16	Moselle	57
17	Seine-et-Oise	56
18	Eure-et-Loir	54
19	Seine-et-Marne	54
20	Oise	54
21	Hautes-Pyrénées	53
22	Calvados	52
23	Eure	51
24	Aisne	51
25	Corse	49
26	Pas-de-Calais	49
27	Yonne	47
28	Basses-Pyrénées	47
29	Basses-Alpes	46
30	Nord	45
31	Rhône	45
32	Hérault	45
33	Orne	45
34	Somme	44
35	Seine-Inferieure	43
36	Manche	43
37	Loiret	42
38	Drôme	42
39	Deux-Sèvres	41
40	Gard	40
41	Gironde	40
42	Charente-Inferieure	39
43	Bouches-du-Rhône	38
44	Gers	38
	Average 0,38	
45	Vaucluse	37
46	Ain	37
47	Charente	36
48	Aude	34
49	Saône-et-Loire	32
50	Lot-et-Garonne	31
51	Cantal	31
52	Pyrénées-Orientales	31
53	Haute-Garonne	31
54	Aveyron	31
55	Sarthe	30
56	Loire	29
57	Isère	29
58	Landes	28
59	Vendée	28
60	Lozère	27
61	Loir-et-Cher	27
62	Ardèche	27
63	Indre-et-Loire	27
64	Tarn-et-Garonne	25
65	Vienne	25
66	Ille-et-Vilaine	25
67	Loire-Inférieure	24
68	Lot	24
69	Var	23
70	Maine-et-Loire	23
71	Creuse	23
72	Haute-Loire	21
73	Tarn	20
74	Nièvre	20
75	Mayenne	19
76	Puy-de-Dôme	19
77	Ariège	18
78	Dordogne	18
79	Indre	17
80	Côtes-du-Nord	16
81	Finistère	15
82	Morbihan	14
83	Cher	13
84	Haute-Vienne	13
85	Allier	13
86	Corrèze	12

In this map, obscurity of the tints corresponds with the minimum of instruction, *i.e.* with the maximum of ignorance.

INFLUENCE OF THE SEXES.

Proportion of the Sex of the Accused for each Crime,—One Hundred cases.

CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON.			CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY.		
NATURE OF THE CRIME.	Men.	Women.	NATURE OF THE CRIME.	Men.	Women.
Slave trade Forfeiture Violation of public decency Breach of the sanitary laws False witnessing in civil matters	* +100	—0	Smuggling Breaking open of sealed things Loss of a ship by negligence Baratary Fraudulent use of a blank signature	+100	—0
Rape	99	1	Exaction and corruption	99	1
Rape, or intent to, on children	99	1	Forgery of seals	98	2
Bigamy	98	2	Destruction of moveable and immoveable property	98	2
Contempt of court, &c.	98	2			
Threatening under condition	97	3	Forgery of bank notes	95	5
Political offences	97	3	Frauds in commercial documents	93	7
Murder	96	4	Robbery on the highway	92	8
Cutting and maiming	95	5	Suppression of title-deeds	90	10
Rebellion	91	9	Pillaging and destroying of furniture	89	11
Assassination†	89	11	Frauds	89	11
False witness and bribery	85	15	Fraudulent bankruptcies	86	14
Escaping from prison	83	17	Frauds by fictitious characters	86	14
Cutting and maiming parents and guardians	80	20	Counterfeit coin	86	14
Begging, accompanied with violence	79	21	Burning property (various)	84	16
Criminal conspiracy	80	20	Theft	83	17
Parricide	64	36	Sacrilege	78	22
Poisoning	55	45	Extortion of signatures	71	29
Assaults upon children	50	50	Firing of buildings	70	30
Abortion	28	72	Pillaging and destroying of grain	69	31
Castration	25	75	Robbery in dwelling-houses	+60	—40
Infanticide	—6	+94			

* In these tables the *maximum* is indicated by the algebraic sign + and the *minimum* by the sign —.

† Assassination is murder premeditated.

CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON.

Numerical No.	NATURE OF CRIMES.	No. of Crimes. Per Ann.	In 1000.
1	Cutting and maiming	368	197
2	Murder	298	160
3	Assassination*	255	137
4	Rebellion	196	105
5	Rape and assault, with intent to,	173	93
6	——————, on children	133	71
7	Infanticide	118	63
8	False witnessing and bribery	87	47
9	Cutting & maiming parents, guardians, &c.	85	46
10	Poisoning	40	21
11	Criminal conspiracy	22	12
12	Crimes against children	20	11
13	Parricide	13	7
14	Abortion	12	7
15	Bigamy	11	5
16	Contempt of court and its officers	9	5
17	Begging, accompanied with violence	9	5
18	Political offences	6	3
19	Threatening	6	3
20	Breaking prison	1	
21	Breach of the sanitary laws	1	
22	Castration	1	
23	False witnessing in civil cases		2
24	Violation of public decency	1	
25	Forfeiture		
26	Slave trade		
	TOTAL	1,865	1000

CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY.

Numerical Nos	NATURE OF CRIMES.	No. of Crimes. Per Ann.	In 1000.
1	Robbery (differing from the following)	3,219	610
2	Robbery in dwelling houses	1,043	198
3	Fraudulent offences, (differing from the following)	255	48
4	Forging in commercial documents	106	20
5	Robbery on the highway	159	30
6	Fraudulent bankruptcy	105	20
7	Burning of buildings, &c.	87	16
8	Sacrilege	54	10
9	Frauds under false pretences	48	9
10	Counterfeit coin	46	9
11	Exaction and corruption	39	7
12	Extortion of signatures	27	5
13	Destruction of moveable or immoveable property	24	5
14	Pillage and destruction of grain	23	4
15	Burning of various objects	18	3
16	Counterfeiting seals, &c.	9	2
17	Pillage and destruction of furniture	6	1
18	Suppression of titles or deeds	4	
19	Forgery of bank notes	3	
20	Defrauding the public treasury	3	
21	Smuggling	2	3
22	Breaking open of sealed things		
23	Loss of a ship by negligence of the pilot		
24	Barratary	2	
25	Smuggling		
26	Abuse of a blank signature		
	TOTAL	5,282	1000

* Assassination is murder premeditated.

CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS.

No.	DEPARTMENTS.	1 accused out of . . . inhabitants.
1	Corse	2,199
2	Lot	5,885
3	Ariège	6,173
4	Pyrénées-Orientales	6,728
5	Haut-Rhin	7,343
6	Lozére	7,710
7	Aveyron	8,236
8	Ardèche	9,474
9	Doubs	11,560
10	Moselle	12,153
11	Hautes-Pyrénées	12,223
12	Bas-Rhin	12,309
13	Seine et Oise	12,477
14	Hérault	12,814
15	Basses-Alpes	12,935
16	Tarn	13,019
17	Gard	13,115
18	Var	13,145
19	Drôme	13,396
20	Bouches du Rhône	13,409
21	Vaucluse	13 576
22	Seine	13,945
23	Tarn et Garonne	14,790
24	Eure	14,795
25	Vienne	15,010
26	Corrèze	15,262
27	Marne	15,602
28	Aude	15,612
29	Haute-Loire	16,170
30	Haute-Vienne	16,256
31	Basses Pyrénées	16,722
	Average 17,085	
32	Puy de Dome	17,256
33	Hautes Alpes	17,188
34	Calvados	17,577
35	Landes	17,687
36	Loiret	17 722
37	Yonne	18 006
38	Cantal	18,070
39	Seine Inférieure	18,355
40	Deux-Sèvres	18,400
41	Haute-Garonne	18 412
42	Gers	18 412
43	Charente Inférieure	18,712
44	Isère	48,785
45	Rhône	18,793
46	Vosges	18,835
47	Indre et Loire	19,131
48	Loire Inférieure	19,314
49	Aube	19,602
50	Vendée	20.827
51	Loir et Cher	21,292
52	Eure et Loir	21,368
53	Dordogne	21,585
54	Cher	21,934
55	Ille et Vilaine	22 138
56	Seine et Marne	22,201
57	Haute Saône	22,339
58	Lot et Garonne	22,969
59	Pas de Calais	23,101
60	Morbihan	23,316
61	Gironde	24,096
62	Meuse	24,507
63	Charente	24,961
64	Nièvre	25,087
65	Jura	26,221
66	Aisne	26,226
67	Haute Marne	26,231
68	Meurthe	26,574
69	Nord	26,740
70	Allier	26,747
71	Loire	27,491
72	Oise	28,180
73	Orne	28,329
74	Mayenne	28,331
75	Côtes du Nord	28,607
76	Saône et Loire	28,391
77	Ain	28,870
78	Maine et Loire	29,592
79	Finistere	29,872
80	Manche	31,078
81	Côte d'Or	32,256
82	Indre	32,404
83	Somme	33,502
84	Sarthe	33,913
85	Ardennes	35,203
86	Creuse	37,014

The number inscribed upon each department in the annexed map refers to the numbers of the table subjoined, which table indicates the average proportion of crimes with the population—the different degrees of shade correspond with the number of crimes represented.

Thus in this map the department of Corsica, (No. 1,) of which the tint is the darkest, presents the maximum of crime, *i.e.* one person accused out of every 2,199 inhabitants. The department of Creuse, (No. 86,) of which the tint is the lightest, presents the minimum of crime, *i.e.* one person accused out of every 37,014 inhabitants.

CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS.



Pub. by R. Bentley. London, 1834.

CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY.



Pub. by R. Bentley, London, 1834.

CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY.

No.	DEPARTMENTS.	1 accused out of . . . inhabitants.
P 1	Seine -	1,308
2	Seine-Inférieure	2,906
P 3	Seine-et-Oise	3,879
4	Eure-et-Loire -	4,016
5	Pas-de-Calais	4,040
P 6	Aube - -	4,086
7	Calvados -	4,500
8	Rhône - -	4,504
9	Moselle -	4,529
p 10	Corse - -	4,589
P 11	Vienne -	4,710
12	Eure - -	4,774
13	Haut-Rhin -	4,915
14	Bas Rhin -	4,920
P 15	Marne -	4,950
16	Loiret - -	5,042
17	Bouches-du-Rhône	5,291
P 18	Charente-Inférieure	5,357
P 19	Aisne -	5,521
20	Vaucluse -	5,731
21	Seine-et-Marne	5,786
22	Doubs -	5,914
23	Lozère -	5,990
24	Loir-et-Cher -	6 017
	Average 6,031.	
25	Landes -	6,170
26	Nord - -	6,175
27	Tarn -	6,241
28	Haute-Vienne -	6,402
29	Yonne -	6,516
p 30	Ille-et-Vilaine -	6,524
31	Oise -	6,659
32	Aveyron -	6,731
33	Meurthe -	6,831
p 34	Finistère -	6,842
35	Deux-Sèvres	6,863
36	Indre-et-Loire -	6 909
p 37	Côtes-du-Nord	7,050
38	Somme -	7,144
39	Haute-Garonne	7,204
40	Basses-Alpes -	7,289
41	Gironde -	7,423
42	Manche -	7,424
43	Vendée -	7,566
44	Indree -	7,624
45	Pyrénées-Orientales	7,632
46	Drôme -	7,759
47	Haute-Saône	7,770
48	Allier -	7,925
p 49	Morbihan -	7,940
50	Gard -	7,990
51	Jura - -	8,050
52	Hautes-Alpes	8,174
53	Nièvre -	8 236
54	Orne -	8,248
55	Sarthe -	8,291
56	Isère -	8 325
57	Maine-et-Loire -	8,520
58	Basses Pyrénées	8,533
59	Tarn-et-Garonne	8,080
P 60	Ardennes -	8,847
61	Lot-et-Garonne	8,943
62	Vosges -	9,044
63	Lot -	9,049
64	Côte-d'Or -	9,159
P 65	Meuse -	9,190
66	Mayenne -	9,198
67	Loire-Inférieure	9,392
P 68	Haute-Marne -	9,539
69	Var -	9,572
70	Ariége -	9,597
71	Hautes-Pyrénées	9,797
72	Dordogne -	10,237
P 73	Ardèche -	10,263
74	Aude - -	10,431
75	Gers -	10,486
76	Cher - -	10,503
77	Saône-et-Loire	10,708
78	Hérault -	10,954
79	Cantal - -	11,645
p 80	Puy-de-Dôme	12,141
p 81	Loire - -	12,665
p 82	Corrèze -	12,949
83	Charente -	13,018
84	Ain -	15,890
p 85	Haute-Loire -	18,043
p 86	Creuse -	20,235

The same rule of distinction applies as in the last.

In estimating the influence of instruction, Monsieur Guerry takes as the test of education the list of those returned to the minister of war at the period of conscription, as able to read and write; and making use of the five divisions I have mentioned, he compares the maps which paint the state of instruction with those which depict the state of crime. From this comparison we see, that while the crimes against persons are the most frequent in Corsica, the provinces of the south-east, and Alsace, where the people are well instructed, there are the fewest of those crimes in Berry, Limousin, and Brittany, where the people are most ignorant.

Such is the case in respect to crimes against the person. As for crimes against property, it is almost invariably those departments that are the best informed which are the most criminal. Should M. Guerry not be altogether wrong then, this must appear certain—that if instruction do not increase crime, which may be a matter of dispute, there is no reason to believe that it diminishes it. But the fact is, that neither by the measure adopted by M. Guerry, nor by any measure that we could adopt, is there any possibility of arriving statistically at the real value of instruction.

Under the denomination of persons "able

to read and write," are those who read in spelling, and perpetrate an undecypherable scrawl, under the inspection of a village schoolmaster, and those who have received all the advantages of a scholastic and liberal education. "Writing and reading," the lowest grade of acquisition to one man, the highest to another—important, I admit, when possessed to a degree that affords an easy access to knowledge, almost useless when it is merely taken to describe a difficult and machinal movement of the lips and fingers,—is an absurd and ridiculous definition, thus indiscriminately selected, of the mental state of a district. That province which possesses but two hundred persons able to read and write may have twice as many of all the advantages and the feelings conferred by education, spread over it—as may be found in another province containing four hundred of these readers and writers. Besides, even supposing, which we do not suppose, that a man taken from Brittany writes just as good a hand, reads with quite as much facility, as a man taken from Provence, and that both these scholars *can only read and write,*—in order to believe that their similar degree of knowledge is to conduct to similar results, it is necessary to believe that they have the same abilities, the same

temperament, the same strength of mind and body. If there be any difference between men which is *as great*, much more if there be any difference between men which is *greater* than the being able to read and write, and the not being able to read and write—how, in the name of Providence, are you able to decide that it is that *especial difference* of reading and writing from which you are to deduce the consequence of their conduct? In short, if we could bring our calculations to the nicest accuracy, as we now found them on the vaguest grounds, we should still, I fear, be as far as ever from the power of forming the accurate conclusion which all these Quixotic calculators are in search of.

It is not then merely on account of M. Guerry's figures that I think the conclusion at which he here arrives probable and likely to be just. No one ever yet pretended to say that in Italy, where there was the most civilization during the middle ages, there was the least crime; and I do not place much faith in the philosopher who pretends that the knowledge which developes the passions, is an instrument for their suppression, or that where there are the most desires, there is likely to be the most order and the most abstinence in their gratification. It is more candid and more wise for the advocate

of knowledge to take a larger and a broader ground: to admit at once the existence of the two principles by which the world has ever yet been divided—to admit that the sources of power and pleasure are also the sources of crime and vice—that where there is good, there will be evil—to contend merely that that is good which is more good than evil; for nature is governed by one law, and the stream of civilization but resembles that mysterious river which folds the crocodile in the same wave that is also charged with the golden seeds that shall fertilize the soil.*

* I find myself in such harmony with the following passage, that I cannot help referring to it:—"Du reste, nous disons à cette occasion notre opinion toute entière sur l'influence de l'instruction. Les avantages nous paraissent infiniment supérieurs à ses inconvéniens. Elle développe les intelligences et soutient toutes les industries. Elle protège ainsi la force morale et le bien-être matériel des peuples. Les passions qu'elle excite, funestes à la societé quand rien ne les contente, deviennent fécondes en avantages lorsqu'elles peuvent atteindre le but qu'elles poursuivent. Ainsi l'instruction répand, il est vrai, parmi les hommes quelques semences de corruption, mais c'est elle aussi qui rend les peuples plus riches, et plus forts. *Chez une nation entourée de voisins éclairés, elle est non seulement un bienfait mais une nécessité politique.*—Beaumont et Tocqueville. *Du Système Penitentiaire aux Etats unis.*

If education be an advantage, it is so, not because it prevents men from committing crimes, but because it adds to the enjoyments of mankind without increasing their vices, in the same proportion. But should education add to human guilt more than it adds to human happiness—should this be the case, the fault is very much in ourselves, and very much owing, let me add—to all education being insufficient—to the absurd belief that to teach reading and writing is quite enough, and that there we may halt and rest satisfied with the good work that we have performed. As well might we say, that if we could but turn the river into our grounds, it would be a matter of perfect indifference whether we led it to the mill, or allowed it to inundate the corn-field.

In giving instruction we create a power, which, if left to itself, may produce more good than evil—which will always produce good with evil, but which it is still our duty to govern and direct, in order to make it produce as much *

* I was rather surprised the other day, at hearing Lord Brougham quote the very able and interesting volume of Messrs. Beaumont and Tocqueville, on the state of crime in America, as a proof of the preventive to crime that was to be found in the mere expulsion of ignorance. What do these gentlemen say?—"It may

good, as little evil as possible; and if we wish to make ourselves sure of its results—if we wish from afar to see, to regulate, and rejoice in its ef-

seem that a state, having every vent for its industry, and its agriculture, will commit less crime than another which, equally enjoying these advantages, does not equally enjoy the advantages of intelligence and enlightenment." "*Nevertheless we do not think that you can attribute the diminution of crimes in the north to instruction,* because in Connecticut, where there is far more instruction than in New York, crime *increases* with a terrible rapidity, and if one cannot accuse knowledge as the cause of this, one is obliged to acknowledge that it *is not a preventive.*"

This is what Messrs. Beaumont and Tocqueville say of the effects of instruction in general in America. But there are institutions in America, where the experiment of instruction is made—not merely on the boy whom you wish to bring up in virtue, but on the boy who has already fallen into the paths of vice—and singular to say, the education given in the houses of refuge to the young delinquents, produces an effect upon them, which education does not in general produce upon society. Why is this? because the education in these houses is a moral education—because its object is not merely to load the memory, but to elevate the soul, to improve and to form the character. "Do not lie! and do as well as you can!" Such are the simple words with which these children are admitted into these institutions: no tale-bearing is allowed; all corporal punishments are prohibited—"la discipline de ces établissemens est toute morale, et repose sur des prin-

fects—we must not only *fill the mind*, we must *form the character*—we must not only give *ideas*, we must give *habits*, we must make education *moral* as well as *intellectual*—we must give men great designs and good desires, at the same time that we invite them to exertion, and make easy to them the paths of ambition.

But to turn from general dissertation to the more immediate subject that is before us—it now, I venture to presume, appears—as well from the very remarkable table I have given, as from the maps to which I refer, that in France, at all events, there seems to be some influence or influences superior to accident, independent of laws, independent of any existing system of instruction, regulating crimes—and the distribution of crimes—not merely in respect to their number, but also in respect to their kind.

How far the peculiarities of race, the habits resulting from old institutions, the differences arising from a rich or barren soil—from a level

cipes qui appartiennent à la plus haute philosophie. Tout tend à y relever l'âme des jeunes détenus et à les rendre jaloux de leur propre estime, et de celle de leurs semblables: pour y parvenir, on feint de les traiter comme des hommes, et comme les membres d'une société libre." I sincerely invite my readers to pay some attention to this part of Messrs. Beaumont and Tocqueville's volume, page 206.—*Du Système Pénitentiaire.*

or mountainous district—from the communication of rivers, or the absence of rivers,—how far all these circumstances, each affecting the passions, the propensities, the pursuits, the wants, and consequently the crimes of a varied population, may extend their empire, M. Guerry, deploring the want of any materials on which to calculate, leaves us in doubts,* which I do not find myself qualified to dispel. Amidst these doubts we are only sensible that France, in spite of its system of unity, still contains a variety of distinct races, with different languages, different prejudices, different manners, and that neither the line and measure of Abbé Sièyes, nor the terrible policy of the mountain, nor the centralizing genius of Napoléon, have been able to give to the grave and slow inhabitant of Normandy, the joyous and eager character of the chivalric child of Bearn.

What we have derived so far from M. Guerry, then, is merely negative—no proof of what is—but sufficient proof that that is *not*, which many have contended *to be*. But having completely set aside the doctrine of accident, having had no opportunity to trace the effects of government—not having satisfactorily

* But what the statist has not done with his tables, the poet has done with his songs, and the people with their proverbs.

established the effects of intelligence—having left us in complete doubt as to various influences that do operate, and that must operate upon human actions,—M. Guerry does at last show us some influences visible upon our conduct which it will be interesting to the reader that I should point out. There is the influence of climate, and there is the influence of the seasons, which M. Guerry has not connected, but which I would wish to place in connexion together—for, observe, that whereas the crimes against the person are always more numerous in the summer, the crimes against property more numerous in the winter—so of the crimes committed in the south, the crimes against the person are far more numerous than those against property, while in the north the crimes against property are, in the same proportion, more numerous than those against the person. Indeed, by comparing the two maps we find, as a general rule, that wherever there are the most crimes against persons, there are the fewest against property.*

* We must except Alsace, and the departments of Corsica, Seine et Oise, Moselle, and Lozère, which are equally criminal in both cases.

Les attentats à la pudeur (Rapes) form a sixth of the crimes committed upon persons: crimes against property are nearly three-fourths of the total number of crimes—and of these we may count five thousand three

But the effects of summer and winter are more strongly marked and more exact in their recurrence, than the effects of north and south.

Of a hundred attempts against public morals committed yearly.

Years.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	Average
	36	36	35	38	36

During the three summer months.

Of a hundred cuts and wounds committed yearly.

Years.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	Average
	28	27	27	27	28.

During the three summer months.

The influence, then, of the atmosphere* upon

hundred per year. Domestic thefts form a fourth of the crimes against property: the number of crimes against property have increased, the number of crimes against the person diminished of later years.

* But the difference between the north and the south of France becomes still more remarkable, if after comparing them together we then compare France with England.

England and Wales contain about half the population of France; they are guilty, I may fairly say, of more than double the amount of crime; but in this total, so much greater than the total of France, there is not more than one rape, or attempt to commit rape, in England, to every three offences of a similar description in France. There is not more than one murder, or attempt to commit murder, in England, to every six murders, or attempt to commit murder, in France.

INFLUENCE OF THE SEASONS.

A.—CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON.		On 1,000	On 1,000	B.—CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY.		On 1,000	On 1,000
Winter	December	82		Winter	December	102	
	January	90	—221		January	96	+279
	February	70			February	81	
Spring	March	85		Spring	March	84	
	April	78	225		April	75	236
	May	92			May	77	
Summer	June	99		Summer	June	78	
	July	89	+263		July	71	—231
	August	95			August	82	
Autumn	September	88		Autumn	September	80	
	October	75	241		October	85	254
	November	78			November	89	
	Total	1,000	1,000		Total	1,000	1,000

* The crimes against persons form one-fourth of the total number of crimes committed yearly.

crime—the influence of climate, thus seeing it, as we do, in conjunction with the influence of the seasons, is difficult to controvert, and seems sufficient, in a slight degree, to separate France from other countries, and the different divisions of France from each other.

But it is in the influence which age and which sex exercise upon crime in France, that there more especially lies a vast field of inquiry—as to the morals, the habits, and the character of the French. In respect to the influences of age, I publish a table, the only one of the sort ever made, and which I think no reader will look at without considerable interest.

Take infanticides alone—there are in France a hundred and eighteen; in England and Wales, in spite of the great increase in these cases during the years 1829, 1830, and 1831, about twenty-eight convictions and thirty committals. Is it the severity of our penal code which produces this effect? Not so: for since capital punishments have become more rare in France, the number of crimes against persons (crimes of personal violence) have *diminished.*

No very accurate conclusion can be drawn from two countries of which the laws and the police are different: still, make every allowance for these, and you will yet find the same difference between France and England that there is between the south of France and the north. There will be more crimes in England against property, fewer crimes against the person, and a larger total of crimes altogether.

As is natural to suppose, the greatest number of crimes committed by both sexes are committed between twenty-five and thirty years of age: a time when the faculties are most developed, and the passions most strong. Assassinations become more and more frequent after the age of twenty years up to the age of fifty: forgery takes the same rule of progression, but continues increasing up to the age of seventy and above. The most striking fact is the enormous proportion that rapes upon children bear among crimes committed by persons passed the age of sixty—in a thousand crimes, from fifty to sixty, eighty-eight are rapes upon children; from sixty to seventy, one hundred and sixty-six; from seventy to eighty and upwards, three hundred and eighteen.

This crime is thrice as frequent as any other among old people, and one sees here—what is the case in maladies of all kinds—precisely the most appetite where there is the worst digestion.

Thus we are led to the influence of the sexes; and most singularly does it display itself in the fact, that the crime* second in precedence among young men is rape upon adults—the crime first in precedence among old men, rapes upon children.

* I speak of the crimes against persons.

From the first step to the last then, from the entry into life to the departure from it, the influence of the sexes, in all its wonderful variations, from physical passion to moral depravity, predominates in France over human actions, and shows here, in a more serious manner, many of those traits in character, to which I have elsewhere, in a lighter tone, alluded.

Nor is this all; we find that in the committals in England and Wales, the females are in the proportion of one to five; in France, the females are in the proportion of one to three.

The difference indeed between the crimes of the male and the female in France, does not seem caused by the superior innocence but by the greater weakness of the female: for exactly as a woman's facility for committing crime increases, her criminality also increases, and becomes more especially remarkable—where one would have hoped to find it least so—viz. beneath her master's, her father's, and her husband's roof. Two-fifths of the thefts by females are domestic thefts, whereas only one-fifth of the thefts by males are thefts of this description. Committing only one murder in twenty, and one assault in twenty-five,*

* Infanticide is the crime most frequent to females;

the woman is guilty of every third parricide, of half the crimes by poison,—and whenever man or wife conspire against the life of the other, the accomplice, if chosen from the family, is almost certain (says M. Guerry) to be a female. So restless, so active, so incapable of repose and insignificance, in France, is this nervous and irritable sex—here poisoning a husband, there intriguing for a lover—here spouting for equal rights, there scribbling in the 'livre rose,'—the nature of the French women is still the same, sometimes conducting her to glory, sometimes to the galleys.

And now pursuing his analysis, Monsieur Guerry conducts us from crimes to their motives.

On a thousand crimes of poisoning, murder, assassination, and incendiarism, we find by his account, that,

Hatred and vengeance cause . .	264
Domestic dissensions . . .	143

assassination (murder premeditated) comes the next. There are one hundred and seven assassinations by women to forty-nine murders. On a hundred crimes 'against persons' the men are guilty of eighty-six, the women of fourteen. On a hundred crimes against property, the men commit seventy-nine, the women twenty-one.

Quarrels at gambling-houses . .	113
Adultery	64
Debauchery, concubinage, seduction	53
Jealousy	16

Hatred and vengeance cause the most of these crimes—jealousy causes the least. Remark!—one of the most common crimes in France is—rape; one of the weakest incentives to crime is—jealousy! . . . . Adultery, however, causes a large proportion of the crimes (thirty-five in a hundred.) But this is not the effect of jealousy—it is not the person injured, who avenges himself or herself: no, it is the person injuring; it is not the deceived, it is the deceiver, who commits one crime as the consequence of the other. Clytemnestra is the home tragedy of private life, and we find that in three cases out of five it is the adulterous wife and her accomplices who conspire against the life—of the betrayed husband.*

Debauch, concubinage, and seduction cause almost as many crimes as adultery: but here it is the life of the woman, as in adultery it

* I recommend M. Guerry's tables as an antidote to the novels of the day, and the doctrines in favour of adultery—to which husbands listen with so willing an ear.

is the life of the man, that is most menaced. A faithful mistress is a burthen; an unfaithful one is passionately loved. The connexion sought from inclination is viewed very differently from that which is usually dictated by interest, and the infidelity of the mistress excites far more angry feelings than the infidelity of the wife. At all events, among wives, the infidelity of the woman causes but one in thirty-three of the assaults upon her life: among mistresses, the infidelity of the woman causes one in every six of these assaults. It is amusing to have these facts before our eyes, and instructive to communicate them to those married ladies who declare that the fickleness of their nature renders them inimical to wedlock. Let me venture to suggest—that their infidelity will expose their lives six times as often as it does now, if they succeed in their projects of female enfranchisement.

The two circumstances next demanding our attention are the number of natural children and the number of suicides in France, which, though not coming under the head of crimes, are connected with the same state of society, with the same character, and with the same passions.

The annual number of natural children is 67,876, (34,708 males, and 33,168 females.) The

department of the Seine, which produces a thirty-second of the population, produces one-sixth of the natural children; and one-third * of the population of Paris would actually be illegitimate but for the unhappy destiny which infants so begotten undergo: three-fifths of these children are abandoned by their parents, and one out of every three dies before attaining his third year. Where we find the most hospitals—there we find the fewest infanticides. But such is the state of these institutions that, little better than a device for encouraging prostitution and checking population, they do that which the law forbids the abandoned parent to do—they murder the child. They transfer the guilt from the individual to the state. Miserable duplicity!—the mother is punished for her crime—the government is lauded for its humanity.†

Such is charity misapplied—

Benefacta male collocata, malefacta existima.

TERENT.

The number of suicides committed from 1827 to 1830 are 6,900, *i. e.* about 1,800 per year;

* M. Chabrol gives a greater proportion.

‡ It appears, that in the northern provinces where there is the most instruction there are the most natural children—the most prostitutes also come from these provinces.

and the department of the Seine, which contains only one thirty-second of the population, presenting us, as I have said, with one-sixth of the illegitimate children, presents us also with one-sixth of the suicides.

The most suicides are committed in the north, the least in the south, just the inverse of what happens in respect to murders and assassinations; and it seems an invariable law* that precisely in those provinces where people are most tempted to kill one another, they are the least tempted to kill themselves. Strange to say, the number of suicides committed in one year amounts to almost the total number of crimes against the person,† and, excluding infanticide, to more than three times the number of murders and assassinations:‡ so that, if a person be found dead, and you have only to conjecture the cause, it is three times as proba-

* With the exception of Alsace and Provence.

† Number of suicides 1800; crimes against the person 1865.

‡ Number of murders, assassinations, &c. . 679
Infanticide 118

561
3

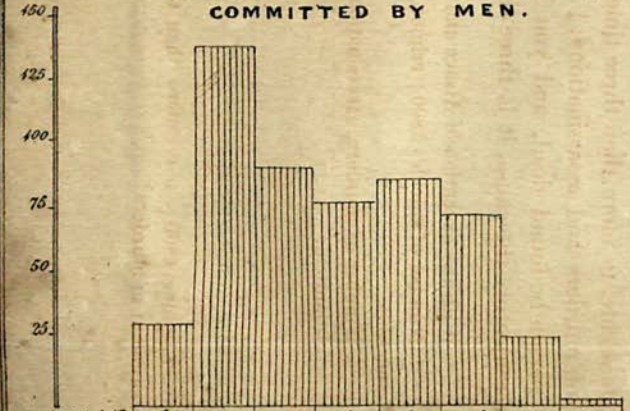
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Suicides 1800; i. e. more than three times the amount of murders!

SUICIDES.

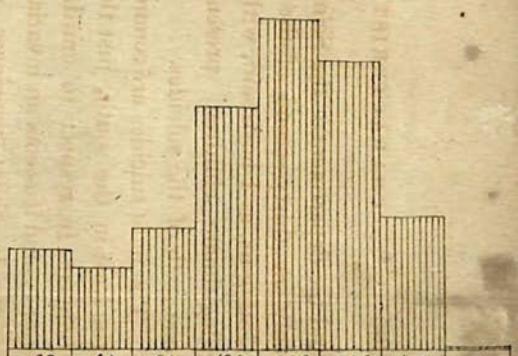
DISTRIBUTION BY AGE,
AND ACCORDING TO THE MEANS EMPLOYED.

SUICIDES BY THE PISTOL, COMMITTED BY MEN.



On 1000 Suicides	61	283	182	150	161	126	35	2
Ages	from 10 to 20 years	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	Above 80

SUICIDES BY HANGING, COMMITTED BY MEN.



On 1000 Suicides	68	51	94	188	256	235	108	0
Ages	from 10 to 20 years	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	Above 80

The height of each Column corresponds with the extent of the numbers indicated below, and refers to the Scale of Division placed on the left.

ble that he died by his own hand as by that of another person!

It is hardly necessary to observe, that the number of suicides really committed must be far more numerous than those which can be furnished by official documents. Monsieur Guerry has given a table of the different sentiments uppermost in the minds of different individuals, at the time when they have deprived themselves of existence. The table is formed according to the papers found on the persons of the deceased.

Here we find men—'fearing to want courage,'—'feeling that they are become reckless on earth,'—'disgusted with life,'—'insulting the ministers of religion,'—'thinking of debauch and libertinage,'—'wishing to have their letters published in the newspapers,'—'boasting that they die men of honour,'—'giving instructions for their funerals.'—Mark what these sentences contain! Mark the vanity, the frivolity which do not shrink before the tomb. Mark the passions, so light, so ridiculous, so strong! —the passions which point a pistol to the brain, and dictate at the same moment a paragraph to the 'Constitutionnel!'* . . . . . .

* This paper seems, for some reason or other, the paper in which suicides are most anxious to be recorded.

Sentiments expressed in the writings of persons having committed Suicide.

CITY OF PARIS.

That they enjoy their reason.

That one has a right to deliver oneself from life when life is a burthen.

That they have come to the determination after much hesitation.

Agonies of their mind.

That they were confused in their ideas.

The horror inspired by the action which they are about to commit.

Pre-occupied with the pains they are about to suffer.

Fear to want courage.

Avowal of some secret crime.

Regret to have yielded to temptation.

Prayer to be pardoned their faults.

Desire to expiate a crime.

That they are become reckless on earth.

Disgust of life.

Reproaches to persons of whom they think they have a right to complain.

Kind expressions to persons, &c.

Adieus to their friends.

Desire to receive the prayers of the church.

Insult to the ministers of religion.

Belief in a future life.

Thoughts of debauch and libertinage.

Materialism.

Prayer not to give publicity to their suicide.

Wish to have their letters published in the newspapers.

Reflections on the misery of human life.

Belief in a fatality.

Prayer to their children to pardon the suicide they are committing.

That they die men of honour.

Regret not to be able to testify their gratitude to their benefactors.

Talk of the hopes which they see vanish.

Regrets for life.

Prayers to their friends to bestow some tears upon their memory.

Regrets to quit a brother, &c.

Prayer to conceal the nature of their death from their children.

Solicitude for the future of their children.

Incertitude of a future life.

Recommendation of their souls to God.

Confidence in divine mercy.

Instructions for their funerals.

Prayer to their friends to keep a mesh of hair, a ring, in remembrance of them.

Desire to be buried with a ring or other token of remembrance.

Request as to the manner they would be buried.

Fear to be exposed at the Morgue.

Reflections on what will become of the body.

Desire to be carried directly to the cemetery.

Prayer to be buried with the poor.

M. Guerry has a large collection of these papers, which published simply as they are, would be one of the most interesting of modern publications.

60 TO 70.		ABOVE 70.	
On 1000	NATURE OF THE CRIMES	On 1000	NATURE OF THE CRIMES
185	Murder	173	Rape on Children
182	Rape on Children	166	Cutting & Maiming
176	Assassination	159	Murder
98	Cutting & Maiming	138	Assassination
88	False Witness	99	False Witness
76	Rebellion	78	Rebellion
32	Infanticide	42	Poisoning
24	Poisoning	35	Infanticide
20	Parricide	21	Rape
19	Abortion	18	Suspicious Characters
15	Rape	14	Contempt of Court &c.
15	Crimes against Children	11	Assaulting Parents & guardians
13	Assaulting Parents & guardians	7	Parricide
10	Suspicious Characters	7	Crimes against Children
10	Bigamy	7	Abortion
6	Contempt of Court &c.	7	Bigamy
6	Begging &c.	7	Begging &c.
26	Crimes various	11	Crimes various
1000		1000	

60 TO 70.		ABOVE 70.	
On 1000	NATURE OF THE CRIMES	On 1000	NATURE OF THE CRIMES
42	Theft	507	Theft
31	Robbery in Dwell.g Houses	166	Frauds
40	Frauds	118	Robbery in Dwell.g Houses
42	Exactions, &c.	32	Burning of Buildings
33	Burning of Buildings	29	Base Coin
32	Fraudulent Bankrupts	28	Fraudulent Bankruptcies
31	Robbery on the Highway	25	Exaction &c.
29	Fictitious Characters by	24	Fictitious Characters by
13	Base Coin	21	Burnings, various
11	Frauds in Comm.n Writ.gs	15	Frauds in Com.n Writings
9	Destroying of Property	10	Robbery on the Highway
4	Sacrilege	9	Plundering Grain
7	Burnings, various	6	Destroying Property
7	Extortion of Signatures	4	Sacrilege
5	Plunder of Grain	3	Counterfeiting Seals
4	Counterfeiting Seals	1	Extortion of Signatures
4	Destroying of Furniture	1	Destroying Furniture
5	Crimes various	1	Crimes various.
100		1000	

Any one little given to the study of these subjects would hardly imagine that the method by which a person destroys himself is almost as accurately and invariably defined by his age as the seasons are by the sun. So it is, notwithstanding, if we may rely upon M. Guerry's experience.

The young hang themselves—arrived at a maturer age they usually blow out their brains; as they get old they recur again to the juvenile practice of suspension.

The tables annexed give the number of persons who kill themselves by the pistol and the halter,—their age is indicated at the base, and a little above is the proportion which these numbers bear to the total number of observations taken upon 1000.

I have gone thus into the details of M. Guerry's work now before me;* first, because I

* There are other facts in M. Guerry's work, to which I do not allude, but which are still interesting. From his statements in respect to education, it appears that from 1815 to 1827 the number of persons receiving instruction had so far augmented as to furnish in the most enlightened arrondissements of the north-east, (where there are the universities of Metz, Strasbourg, Douai, and Dijon,) one boy going to school in every 11, 12, and 15 inhabitants—instead of one in 14, 15, 16,

think so important an attempt to carry certain rules into those departments of morals and jurisprudence, which have hitherto been vaguely

and 17 inhabitants; and so in the districts of Angers, Orleans, Rennes, and Clermont, where there is the least instruction, for one boy going to school in 113, 126, 190, 158, and 167 inhabitants in 1819, there was in 1827 one in every 74, 92, 128, 150, and 159. But the schools which in England receive a third of the public donations, receive in France but a thirtieth, and in seventeen departments there was not, during the space of ten years, one gift or bequest to an institution of this description. This leads me to remark that there are some curious statements in M. Guerry's work respecting donations, more especially as they concern the clergy and the poor. From these it would appear that the wealthiest and most enlightened provinces make the greatest number of donations to the clergy, and that the most ignorant provinces make the fewest donations to any body. Where there are the most crimes against the person, the most priests, there the most is given to the poor.

More than half of the bequests and gifts that take place are for the benefit of this class, (the poor,) and the support of hospitals, and other beneficent establishments; and contrary to general belief, it would appear, 1st, that the greatest number of charitable contributors are of the male sex; 2ndly, that instead of the priests wringing what is left to them from the dying sinner, it is the poor who gain the most by testament, and the clergy the most by donation.

treated and considered, would be, whether successful or unsuccessful, well worthy of our deepest attention; and, secondly, because I feel greatly disposed to concur in the majority of M. Guerry's conclusions. This disposition I own is not merely founded upon a faith inspired by the calculations I have submitted to the reader. I do not feel that faith in such calculations which many do. But in this instance the results which M. Guerry has given, are those which the ordinary rules of nature and observation would teach me to believe.

A philosopher, writing on history, once said, that statues, and monuments, and triumphal arches were only to be received as creditable witnesses, when the facts which they pretended to commemorate were likely to be true. This is about the manner in which, under the necessity of quoting from very imperfect sources, I usually consider the figures of most statists. But what does M. Guerry prove? Those facts which he demonstrates as most probable are facts which we were taught, centuries before the kind of tables which he gives us, to believe. It is the wife who wrongs the husband, or the husband who wrongs the wife, that in ninety-four cases out of a hundred, adds murder to adultery.

The profound author of the Prince divined on a large scale what M. Guerry has just established on a small one! . . . The dogma, too beautiful to be true, that wealth and knowledge are incompatible with crime, stood opposed to every page of history that ever pretended to pourtray the character of mankind. It is refuted by figures—it is by figures only that men would have dared or attempted to assert it.

The earliest philosophers and legislators had condemned, on the score of policy and morality, those sexual disorders on which Christ set the seal of divine reprobation, and which we are now, for the millionth time, shown to be injurious to the well-being of society. The influence exercised by climate and race is a doctrine as ancient as the separation of the sons of Noah. One stands amazed at the slow progress of intelligence when one sees it necessary to prop up these old and hackneyed precepts with new authority. . . .

So much for the facts that concern mankind in general: as for those which relate to France in particular, M. Guerry's calculations conform, for the most part, with the views that a rational observer would have taken. He paints the population of France active and industrious in the north; indolent, passionate,

charitable, in the south; ignorant, honest, religious, and attached to their parents, in the centre; while in Paris we find, as we might have supposed, a people universally sensual, and easily disgusted with life. This is what we should have said without seeing M. Guerry's tables—this is what his tables teach us.

I do not, by these observations, mean to depreciate the class of work which I have been considering: it has undoubtedly its peculiar merits; but I see people at the present day insensible to its defects—astonished when a truth is proved to them by cyphers—credulous when an error is similarly asserted—and falling perpetually into trivialities, absurdities, and superficialities, merely because they think that nothing can be absurd, trivial, or superficial, which puts on a business-like appearance.*

The philosophers of the eighteenth century, material as they were, were not quite so material as we have become. Every argument now used must appeal to the senses; no doc-

* How often do we find a manufacture or a country in that singular condition, which poor Pope so happily described when, turning from his doctor to his friend, he said, "Alas! my dear sir, I am dying every day of the most favourable symptoms."

trine is worth a farthing that does not march boldly forth, supported by figures. The orator, the philosopher, and even the novelist, address themselves "to *facts*." Facts, no doubt, are the necessary basis of general truths—but figures are not always facts: figures, impossible to contradict, are very frequently contradicted in politics as in science, by the mere absurdities they prove. For instance, by a subsidy granted to Philip de Valois (1328), it would appear that there were at that time eight millions of hearths, or families, in the countries which at present compose France: eight millions of families, at the moderate calculation of four persons to a family, would give thirty-two millions of inhabitants, the whole population of France at the present time. Voltaire cites this absurdity—in similar absurdities history abounds.

But M. Guerry's volume, as well from the ability of that gentleman, as from the conscientious scruples with which all his inquiries are conducted, is the most valuable work of this description which exists, or which we can hope for many years to see respecting the country on which I am writing.

Let me then return to the investigation I set out with, viz. "how far what he says of the

crimes, concurs with what I have said of the pleasures, of the French."

Do we find no connexion between the galiantry which formed the subject of a former chapter and the contents of this chapter? See we nothing to remark in the rapes of young men upon adults, in the rapes of old men upon children, in the female poisonings attendant upon adultery, in the immense population perishing in the enfans trouvés? Is there no connexion between the vanity I formerly spoke of, and the hatred and the vengeance which dictate so many crimes, and the disgust for life which leads to so many suicides? Is there no connexion between the gay, and unthinking, and frivolous disposition which presides over the follies of the French, and the carelessness and recklessness of human life which swells the calendar of their guilt, and opens so remarkable, so terrible a chapter in the history of human nature? This inquiry I do not venture to pursue: my object is not to establish doctrines, but to awake attention. And now, having hastily and feebly, but not, I trust, inaccurately sketched some of the principal features of French character, such as it appears before me, may I hope to lead my reader back to some of the later passages in French history, from which we must not wholly

divide the present—to some of those many rapidly succeeding changes, out of which a new people, different, but not separate from the old people, have grown up?—for this I am anxious to do, holding it impossible to speculate with any security on the future of a nation of which we have not studied the past.

END OF BOOK I.

BOOK II.

HISTORICAL CHANGES.

"Men will never see far into posterity who do not sometimes look backward to their ancestors."

BURKE.

"Je veux parler de la condition matérielle de la société, des changemens matériels introduits dans la manière d'être et de vivre des hommes, par un fait nouveau, par une révolution, par un nouvel état social."

GUIZOT.

OLD REGIME.

It is at Versailles that you can best understand the old régime—The monarchy overturned by the first revolution, the monarchy of Louis XIV.—Faults that he committed—Character of his successors—The alchemist and the cook.—Necessity of maintaining the court nobility in public opinion by war—Impossibility of doing so—Many circumstances hastened what Louis XV. foresaw—Colbert, Law, Voltaire. —Review of the revolution and the old régime. —Definition of the old 'régime'—What Louis XVI might have done—The court formed by the old nobility—The monarch impoverished, and obliged to satisfy the former adherents of that nobility—The destruction of the great aristocracy burthened the monarch with the vices of the gentry—The wrath of the people delivered the nation into the hands of the mob—The good which came out of evil.

RELIEVE yon palace from the century with which its royal dome is overcharged—light up those vast apartments, gorgeous in paintings and gold—open wide those stately and solemn doors,—crowd with a gay throng of courtiers

that wide flight of marble steps, down which a daughter of the house of Hapsburg, a queen of France, half naked, was once seen to fly—Give for a moment, give its ancient splendour to the palace where you are still haunted by the memory of Louis XIV. !—It is at Versailles, as you gaze on those stiff and stately gardens, on that large and spacious court, on those immense buildings, still decorated with their title inscribed in letters of gold, "Les écuries du Roi." It is at Versailles, as you stand between the five roads which quit the royal gates for Spain, Italy, Paris, Germany and England—it is at Versailles —that you understand the genius of the ancient 'régime,' such as it existed in the head of its founder.

I call Louis XIV. its founder: for the monarchy which the Revolution of '89 overthrew, was the monarchy of Louis XIV., who made of a great fief a great kingdom, and destroyed the feudal government of eight centuries, which Richelieu had already undermined. The ancient monarchy was of a mixed nature, and the sovereign might be said to share his power with the nobility, the magistracy, and the clergy of the realm. Louis XIV. simplified the system, and said, "I am the state." He said it with impunity.

In the camp and the court the nobility had sacrificed their independence: weakened by the unsuccessful struggles of the Fronde, the parliament had not attempted to resist their youthful master's indignation: the clergy were subdued when they renounced the distribution of their possessions: and the silence which reigned every where was the sign of universal submission.

The vowed enemy of revolutions, this great king acted the part of a revolutionist—a part dangerous for prince or people. The violence of the mob placed the dictatorship in the hands of Cromwell and Napoléon; the absolute doctrines of their predecessors led Charles I. and Louis XVI. to the scaffold. In concentrating the power of the kingdom in the monarch, Louis XIV. united all the faults of his government with the existence of the monarchy, and made the force of the monarchy depend upon the force of an individual—the crown became too weighty to wear, and even he who made it what it was could only support it during the pride and strength of his youth.

The character of the duke of Orléans, a prince to whose capacity posterity has not rendered justice, was still the character of all others least likely to infuse vigour into a system already travailed by decay. Less affrighted by dangers than

difficulties, and easily captivated by any novelty that had originality to recommend it, his government was a series of harassing intrigues to avoid trouble, a continuation of dangerous expedients to avoid distress. The edifice, which depended for its safety on the preservation of the solemn grandeur that had presided over its foundation, he attempted to sustain by the brilliant tricks of a versatile address, and Europe was for a while amused by a profligate and clever buffoon, who in the masquerade of a cardinal, represented the stately and decorous monarchy of Louis XIV.

In the amusements of the regent, and of his successor—in the pursuits of the alchemist and the cook, you may discover the genius which accompanied them into more serious affairs. The indolent epicureanism of Louis XV. sanctioned as a system that which under the regency was tolerated as a transient disorder. The eccentric debauch of the one consolidated itself into the regulated profligacy of the other, and the court which awed during the reign of Louis XIV. by its ceremonious pride, which astonished during the regency by its mysterious vices, disgusted under the succeeding reign by its insolent and dissolute manners. Besides, to sustain a nobility void of all civil resources, and arro-

gant only in the exclusive privilege of wearing a sword, it was necessary to bring that nobility frequently before the nation on the field of battle; and, indeed, we find it pardoned, if not beloved, by a vain and military people, when it mingled valour with voluptuousness, ambition with frivolity, chivalry with love.

But as war is carried on in modern times, it cannot be maintained without considerable expense, and every year increases the necessity and the danger of making peace. The condition therefore on which such a system was based rendered it, under the present military system, difficult of duration. The nobility, caged in the court, were likely to find themselves opposed by the great body of the people; and the sovereign, if he identified himself with the nobility, was likely to share the fate of an impotent and insolent aristocracy, whose pretensions he had left, and whose power he had destroyed.

Undoubtedly many circumstances hastened this conclusion, which the eye of Louis XV., less improvident than his disposition, had from afar dimly foreseen. The more indeed that we look at the events of those times, the more we are struck by the variety of elements which were working towards the same result. The commercial prosperity which rose with the wisdom and eco-

nomy of Colbert, the commercial ruin which followed the scientific but terrible operations of Law, were equally favourable to that monied nobility by whom the first revolution was aided, and to whom the second revolution belongs. More than this; the poetical vanity of Richelieu, the domineering arrogance of Louis XIV., the intriguing character of the regent, the weak and indolent disposition of Louis XV., all concurred in hastening the advancement of a new nobility destined to be still more formidable to the ancient order of things, and which has in fact changed the destiny of a great part of the world.

Flattering the passions, and associating itself with the tastes, literature finally overthrew the interests of the great. The doctrines, which delivered from a philosophic chair, would have been punished and prohibited, insinuated themselves into favour by the elegance of a song, the point of an epigram, or the eloquence of the stage: conducted less by systematic artifice than casual interest, the writer who abused the class, praised the individual; and the same man, who from the solitude of Ferney breathed destruction to the clergy, the monarchy, and the court, dedicated a poem to a pope, corresponded with an empress, and was the unblushing panegyrist of a fashionable débauché, and a royal mistress.

Thus were there two new classes, the one powerful for its wealth, the other more mighty for its intelligence, in tacit league against the existing order of things—an order of things from which they had sprung, but which, having been formed at a time when they were hardly in existence, offered them no legitimate place in society equal to that which they found themselves called upon to assume. It was by the side of galleys crowded with musicians, and decorated with flowers, that you might once have seen the sombre vessel destined to bring to France the pestilence* which had been merited by her crimes, and so with the prosperity and the glory of the golden days of the ancient 'régime,' with its commerce, and with its arts, came on, darkly, and unnoticed, the just but terrible revolution of '89.

For many years it has been the custom to pick up our recollections of the ancient 'régime' out of the ruins of the Bastille, or to collect our materials for the history of the revolution from the dungeons of the Conciergerie

* The Chevalier d'Orléans, natural son of the regent and grand prior of Malta, was returning from Genoa, whither he had escorted his sister. By the side of his galleys floated several vessels, which, coming from a port in Syria, carried into France the plague, which desolated Marseilles.

and La Force. The time is come when the writer is bound to be more impartial, and to allow that there was a certain glory and greatness in the ancient monarchy, a strict justice, and an almost inevitable necessity in the catastrophe which overwhelmed it. Of the revolution I shall speak presently. What I have to say of the ancient 'régime' will be confined to a few remarks. A writer, whose essay on the monarchy of Louis XIV. is at once calculated to impress posterity with a just idea of the ancient history and the modern genius of the French people, has said—

"Cette monarchie peut être ainsi définie; une royauté absolue et dispendieuse, sévère pour le peuple, hostile envers l'étranger, appuyée sur l'armée, sur la police, sur la gloire du roi, et tempérée par la justice du monarque et par la sagesse de ses conseils choisis dans les différens ordres de l'état, et par le besoin de ménager pour la guerre et pour l'impôt le nombre et la fortune de ses sujets." This sentence comprises the spirit of a military system which, as I have said before, depended upon the personal character of its chief. Scratch out the words 'dispendieuse' and 'sévère;' read "*une royauté absolue mais économique, douce pour le peuple*," and you have, what may be said with some pro-

priety of the Prussian monarchy, not an unpopular government with an enlightened people at the present day, and a government peculiarly adapted to many characteristic dispositions of the French. It was into something like the Prussian government that Louis XVI. might perhaps have converted his own.

The expenses of the crown, the privileges of the nobility, the venality of places, the frequent imprisonments, and the excessive charges of the people: these were faults incompatible with the welfare of a nation, but not necessarily combined with the haughty prerogatives of the crown. By diminishing the useless expenses of the court, the army might more easily have been supported; by equally dividing the burthens of the state, the commons might have become reconciled to the nobility; and by uniting the army with the nation, and thus avoiding the necessity of displaying the valour of one class in order to appease the discontent of another, the military system might have become one of defence, instead of one of aggression. By these means, doubtless the ancient monarchy might have been rendered tolerable, and its destruction prevented or deferred. Its faults, if you do not consider the court as part of the constitution, were faults chiefly of administration,—but

were faults inseparable from the court. The great misfortune entailed by the destruction of the great nobility was the creation of this court. In other respects the policy of Louis XIV. dangerous to himself and his descendants, was not, upon the whole, so disadvantageous to his people.

The simplicity which he introduced, productive of despotism, was also productive of order—the indisputable necessity of a state that wishes to advance and to improve. In his reign the streets of Paris were regularly lighted, and an effective police created. The arts, as an embellishment to the monarchy, were cultivated; commerce, as the means of supporting a more regular state of warfare, was encouraged; and during the time that the genius of him who had operated the change was equal to preside over it, France obtained a prosperity which it required a long series of disasters to overthrow. Even the great vice of Louis XIV. was not without its advantages. The immense buildings in which so much was lavishly expended, useful in promoting a taste for architecture, which has since tended, not merely to the embellishment, but to the health and comfort of France and Europe, (for its effects extended far,) was also useful in creating that

power and majesty of thought, which, proceeding from the admiration of what is great, and the conquest of what is difficult, is, under proper regulation and control, a mighty element in the composition of any state which aspires to a high place among the royal dynasties of the world.

Seen then from afar, where its outlines are only dimly visible, there is much in the ancient 'régime' to admire as well as to accuse. But penetrate more into the subtle mechanism of the political machine—turn from the sovereign to his servants—from the design of the government to the vices of the administration—vices interwoven and inseparably connected each with the other—follow out the court into its various ramifications, from the 'noblesse' to the 'nobilace'—it is there that you find faults impossible to continue, and yet almost impossible to amend.

The impoverishment of the high aristocracy threw thirty thousand noble paupers upon the community, for whom forty thousand places were created. Here was the formidable body united in the support of abuses, and connecting, if supported by the crown, those abuses with its majesty and prerogatives. The monarch must have been no ordinary man to have attacked such a cortége, the representatives of his authority, the creatures of his bounty, and the

organs of that public opinion which circulated about his person. The people, on the other hand, long since forgetful of the benefits it originally conferred, could no longer endure a system—which, founded on the ideas of foreign conquest and domestic tranquillity, had not even glory to offer as an excuse for the injustice, the extravagance, and the insecurity that it contained.

In the history of all nations an invisible hand seems ever mingling with human affairs, and events apparently the most distant and inseparable are linked mysteriously together. Louis XIV. founds an absolute system of order on the ruin of a powerful noblesse, for whose adherents he is thus obliged to provide. The evil attendant upon a greater good produces in turn its calamity and advantages. The destruction of the great aristocracy burthened the monarch with the vices of the gentry, and the wrath of the people delivered the nation for a time into the hands of the mob.

The fanatics who traversed the unnatural career of those gloomy times, have passed away, and produced nothing in their generation for the immediate benefit of mankind. But Providence, ever watchful for futurity, was even then preparing its events. The terrible philosophers

of the 'salut public,' like the husbandman in the fable of Æsop, dug for a treasure impossible to find; but as the husbandman, by reason of stirring the mould about his vines, so fertilized the soil as to make it abundant to his successors —so these rash and mistaken philosophers, in quest of impossible advantages, produced ulterior benefits, and while they lost their labour, enriched posterity by the vanity of their search.

REVOLUTION OF EIGHTY-NINE.

The procession of the States General at Versailles—The consequences of Richelieu's policy—All classes demanded the States General—Each had a different object—The conduct of the people, of the parliament, of the army—Mirabeau's death, and flight of Louis XVI.—Character of the national assembly—Character of Mirabeau—What could have saved Louis XVI.?—The factions of the revolution like the priests of the temple at Rome, who became the successors of the man they murdered—Conduct of the Girondists—Character of the Mountain—Character of Robespierre.

MANY can yet remember the day when through the streets of Versailles—through the streets of that royal Versailles, whose pomp, when I spoke of the olden monarchy, I was desirous to restore; —many can even now remember the day when through those streets—here conspicuous for their violet robes, or snow white plumes; there for their dark, modest, and citizen-like

attire,—marched in solemn order the states-general; the men to whom had been confided the happiness and the destinies of France. This was the first scene of the revolution, then on the eve of being accomplished. For the philosopher had prepared an age of action as the poet had prepared an age of philosophy.

One of the consequences of the policy of Richelieu and Louis XIV. was, that having made the crown the spoliator of every class in the kingdom, every class imagined it had something to gain by despoiling the crown. The Parliament of Paris, which had once assisted the king against the aristocracy of the sword, passed naturally over to the people on that aristocracy being subdued, and raised at every interval, when the weakness of the sovereign or the force of the subject gave it power, the standard of magisterial revolt. The *noblesse d'épée* themselves, embued with that respect for their ancestors, which hereditary honours always inspire, looked back with jealousy to a time when their families enjoyed a kind of feudal independence, and felt something like pleasure in the humiliation of a power by which their own consequence had been humbled. Every class saw a chance, in the convocation of the States-General, for asserting its own privi-

leges; every class therefore demanded that convocation.* But the different motives which induced all parties to unite for this common object, separated them as soon as it was attained. The differing factions commenced a struggle for power—the famous meeting at the racket court decided to which faction power should belong.

And now the parliament, accustomed to aid the weaker party, united with the crown; while the military nobility under the Comte d'Artois recovered in this crisis the old spirit of their order, and at the head of an army would have rendered themselves at once independent of the people and the throne.—The 14th of July, which separated their officers from the soldiery, offered no resource to this body but a foreign camp: and as the aristocracy of France united itself with the aristocracy of Europe, the emigration commenced: signal of a war which was to be waged between two opinions.

The succeeding epochs of the revolution follow at short distances from each other, and bring us speedily to the great catastrophe. The natural consequence of the events of July

* By the parliament, and the peers of France, by the states of Dauphiny, and by the clergy in the assembly of Paris.

confined the court to Paris, and confirmed the power of the assembly: the death of Mirabeau left Louis no alternative but an unconditional submission or flight: his capture and his pardon changed his condition from that of a monarch who had made concessions, into that of a captive who had to be grateful for a favour, and contrite for a fault. In this situation the dissolution of the national assembly left him.

With the national assembly perished the best portion of the revolution—rather learned than wise, rather vain than ambitious, rather democratic than loyal, rather loyal than aristocratic—more profound than practical, more zealous than able, more rhetorical than eloquent—virtuous, great, courageous—it has left a vast monument of enthusiasm, energy, disinterestedness, superb language, deep thought, and political incapacity.

It contained all that a great nation, stirred by a noble passion, could produce, without being educated for affairs—it proved the value of that education;—with more than the ideas necessary to form a good government, it wanted the tact which, in bodies that have long existed, becomes the instinct of conservation; and in setting for itself the trap in which Cromwell caught his opponents, displayed the

most profound ignorance of the variable nature of revolutions in general, as well as of the peculiar and characteristic disposition of the French people.* The national assembly was called upon, not merely *to announce* certain opinions —as I have been told in France, such opinions were *already announced*—it was called upon *to give a durable form to these opinions*, and in this, the most important part of its mission, it was egregiously, unfortunately, and perhaps inevitably unsuccessful.

Let us pause for a moment upon this epoch: it was then that you might have seen a man, his high brow wrinkled with study, his eye haggard with debauch—there he stands surrounded by wild and strange figures, in whose countenances you read, "Revenge upon our oppressors!" while their agitated lips pronounce words—destined to be so terrible, then so pure —"Liberty, justice for the great masses of

* "Depuis qu'on nous rassassie de principes," said Duport, the founder of the Jacobins, one of the leaders of the mountain, and the most practical politician of the assembly; "Depuis qu'on nous rassassie de principes, comment n'est on pas avisé que la stabilité est aussi un principe de gouvernment! veut-on exposer la France dont les têtes sont si ardentes et si mobiles, à voir arriver tous les deux ans une révolution dans les lois et dans les opinions."

mankind"—there he stands, his large hand clenched, his broad chest expanded, his great head erect and high, and rendered still more terrible by the profusion of hair, artfully arranged, so as to give effect to the formidable character of his person.

See him in the club of the Jacobins, which rings and resounds with his voice—or see him in those voluptuous fêtes which still linger about the court—in a room dazzling with light, abounding in shaded alcoves;—see him there, surrounded by opera dancers and actresses, familiar with roués and aristocrats, nervous under the influence of wine, society, and love—or see him, (so strange and so various are the attributes of this mortal)—see him in the quiet seclusion of his cabinet, the patron, the idol, and the preceptor of the most studious and disciplined youth of his time—communicating to them his ideas, profiting by their labours—and preparing, by the severe application of theories to facts, those profound and passionate displays with which he annihilated the ancient system, and would have renovated the new!

Such was Mirabeau, without whom, some have imagined the revolution of eighty-nine would not have been, by whom many have deemed that revolution might have been stopped.

Undoubtedly this man possessed a vast genius, and was one of those mysterious mortals described by Bossuet as the instruments of God's designs. Deriving a certain aristocracy of ideas from his birth, he took part with the people because he had shared in their oppressions. Carried by the same passions which sullied his private life, up to the loftiest paths of a public career—the intriguing agent at Berlin, the studious prisoner at Vincennes—courtier, plebeian, profligate, patriot—learned, active, resolute—he was the only man who belonging to every class, and, possessing every quality of his time, could fully comprehend and concentrate its movement.

A noble in his democracy, he would have sacrificed the privileges and not the titles of his order; he would have stripped the sovereign of power, but left him with respect; and while he recognized the welfare of the many as the end of government, denounced the sovereignty of the multitude as its curse. If he were paid during his later days (as is almost certain) by the court, he was not bought by it. His conviction would never have carried the revolution further than it had been carried by the national assembly, and the miserable debates, as to whether the sovereign should be called "Sire," or seated upon a

chair, would have excited his contempt and his disgust. This was the debate with which the labours of the legislative assembly commenced. An assembly which, as Duport predicted, undertook a new revolution.

Then came the commencement of proscriptions: then came the decrees against the emigrants and the priests—the ministry of the Gironde, (the first republicans in office) —the insurrection of June, (which was to overturn the throne,)—the invasion of the Prussians—the massacres of September—and the convocation of the convention. The mountain was in the convention what the Gironde had been in the legislative assembly; and the king whom the first dethroned, the second beheaded.

Thus perished Louis XVI. declaring that he had never harboured a thought against the happiness of his people: the victim of his own character, and of the violence and the necessity of his times. Few persons have thought or written on this event, without hazarding some opinion on the possibility or impossibility of preventing it. Many have supposed that if the monarch had from the first sternly resisted all reforms, he would have succeeded. Others again have imagined that if he had yielded altogether to the popular movement he might have retained his place as the beloved constitutional sovereign

of his country. Some, and Mr. Burke among the number, have appeared to think—that if Louis, not obstinate against change, but prescribing the changes to take place, had revived and renovated the ancient institutions—or that even if the states-general themselves had done this—by connecting the past with the present, a principle of duration would have been recognized and observed in the new system, which would thus have adapted itself better to the habits and the wants of an ancient people, who had not their history to commence, but to continue.

The first course I deem altogether impossible; because to keep things as they were, was to keep a parliament that refused to register taxes, a people who refused to pay them; and a clergy, a nobility, and an army, all the powers and all the classes of the state, discontented with the authority which flattered no opinion, and could no longer purchase adherents. The second course plausible in theory, was, I fear, impossible in practice, since it supposed that one party would be always moderate in conquest, and another always patient in defeat. The third course offered the immense advantage of altering the spirit without changing the nominal form of the constitution. If resorted to at the death of Louis XIV.—as might have been the case if the Duc de Bourgogne had been

his successor—it is possible that the new ideas gradually arising, would gradually have infused themselves into a form of government which was susceptible of popular improvements. But after the reign of Louis XV., of Rousseau and of Voltaire, to the modern ideas and the modern people who had grown up, nothing could have appeared so new, so strange, and so grotesque, as the old and forgotten constitution which slumbered in the tomb of Louis XIII. The nobility might indeed have received it; it made them more independent; but it was against the nobility that the nation murmured.

More vain than proud, more alive to personal affronts than to public rights, enamoured with freedom as a novelty, rather than regarding it as a possession,—less the enemy of the crown than of the court,—the nation would have bowed to a new tyranny which established equality in its empire, sooner than to an ancient system of liberty favourable to privileges and distinctions. Adopting the example of those who had founded the system over which he was called upon to preside—still further humbling, still more vigorously controlling the nobility which his great predecessor had humbled and controlled, Louis XVI. might have attempted arbitrarily to crush those vices, and to put down that inso-

lence, and those pretensions, which a constitution was invoked to destroy. Like the savage, but illustrious Czar, he might have concentrated a revolution in his own person, which would probably have rendered him guilty of much of that violence, and many of those crimes, which have discoloured the fasts of the republic. But the enterprise would have been difficult; and the character of Louis XVI. (as little suited for his part as that of his predecessors had been for theirs,) was wholly unequal to this great and hardy design, which he should have had Napoleon as a general, Mirabeau as a minister, to have accomplished.

The past generation suffered, the present generation has gained, by that king, being better and weaker than the continuance of his dynasty required—he had not the fortune, or the genius to offer an enlightened despotism; and the nation, in the natural evolutions of concession and aggression, arrived at a terrible republic.

II.

THERE was a temple at Rome, where, by murdering the priest, you became his successor. Humanity shudders before a period in history when parties struggling for power adopted this maxim without remorse. First came the as-

sassination of Louis XVI., then that of the Girondists, then that of the Hebertists, then that of the Dantonists, then that of the Triumvirate. Terrible calamity, of a terrible epoch—there is no safeguard in a revolution from error and from crime! Show me men more gifted with talents to promise greatness, with virtues to promise justice, than that noble and eloquent faction of the Gironde, that band of eminent and mistaken men, who by their brutal and insensate emissaries assaulted the palace of a monarch, whose goodness they knew, and whose errors it was their policy to have forgiven.

It was thus that they became the victims of their own example; and in vain did their leader in after times attempt to separate what he called the seditious insurrections of the mountain, from the insurrection equally seditious by which his party had momentarily obtained the execution of their designs.* The Girondists had in view a system of government compatible with justice and society, they did not hesitate at com-

* "Vous êtes libres, mais pensez comme nous, ou nous vous dénonçerons aux vengeances du peuple. Vous êtes libres, mais associez-vous à nous pour persécuter les hommes dont vous redoutez la probité, et les lumières, ou nous vous dénonçerons aux vengeances du peuple."—*Speech of Vergniaud.*

mitting a certain degree of violence in favour of that system. The Jacobins had in view a system of government which man and nature could not endure, and they were ready conscientiously to perpetrate any crime which gave their theory a chance of realization. " De l'audace, de l'audace, et encore de l'audace," said Danton. " Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas," said Barrère. " Plus le corps social transpire plus il devient sain," said Collot d'Herbois—and in the midst of massacres and executions, by scaffolds and through prisons, over the dead bodies of their friends, their countrymen, and their colleagues, these legislative frenetics marched with a cool and determined step towards the terrible Liberty, whose temple, like that of Juggernaut, was to be known by the immolated victims with which its road was overlain.

It is impossible to deny these men a daring disposition, a stern intelligence, which, if under the influence of a less horrible delirium, would have rendered them dear to France, as her national defenders. Threatened at once by foreign and civil war—rebellion in the east, rebellion in the south, the Girondists, the royalists in arms—the white flag flying from Toulon, and an English fleet in the harbour,—they

never for a moment doubted, hesitated, or feared; —proving the assurance of Machiavel, which Montesquieu has repeated, viz. that a nation is never so powerful to a foreign enemy as when torn by civil dissensions—in the midst of enemies at home, they daringly threw down the gauntlet to Europe, and proved by 1,200,000 men in arms, that their means and their boasts were equal.

There are two historians, who, dazzled, as it appears to me, by the courage and character which these men displayed, in circumstances so critical, have veiled their crimes under a pedantic fatalism, have connected by a horrid necessity their massacres with their victories, and imagined that the new principles of liberty could not have been defended at that time from the hostile cabals of the aristocracy, but by the most infernal system of illegality, espionage, and blood. I respect the character, I respect the valour of the French nation more than either of these authors: I do not think that the descendants of those men who fought under Bayard and du Guesclin—I do not think that the same race which furnished the brave soldiers of Henry IV. and filled the armies in the brilliant days of Louis the Great—I do not—I cannot think that the French, known in every period of their history, for their bravery, their enthu-

siasm, their hatred of a foreign yoke,—were obliged to derive their valour from their fears. The Romans were better judges of the sentiment which animates, and ought to animate, an army—when they left honour even to defeat. They felt that we humiliate those whom we threaten, or whom we punish, and that the way to make men capable of great actions, is to show a great generosity for their weaknesses.

As for liberty, it does not consist in planting trees, and signing decrees with the names symbolic of a republic. When Danton said, "We are few in number—we must show no mercy, for the sake of liberty, to those who are opposed to us," he did not simply establish a momentary despotism among his fellow citizens; he said that which will favour despotism through all ages—he did not merely inflict an injury upon his countrymen, he inflicted a severer injury upon his principles, upon the principles professed by him and his; for he sullied and rendered suspicious those great words which the Romans had left us, and which up to that time were fresh in all their antique purity—and thus it is hardly wonderful that the crimes of Jacobinism were said to be paid by royal gold.

No one would willingly pause long upon the events of this mysterious and awful epoch. I pass them gladly by—but there was one man who,

when politics were a game at which the loser laid down his head, took a prominent part in that terrible amusement.

You who declaim against the vice and venality of Mirabeau, will be delighted to know that this man was surnamed the pure, the incorruptible, the just. No follies had disfigured *his* youth; severe, neat, careful in his carriage and his costume, there was none of that easy negligence, of that nervous susceptibility in his character or his person, which marks and makes a man forgetful of himself. In the preciseness of his dress, you saw what was uppermost in his opinion. In every thing about him you read the egotism which reigned in his heart, and that firm and unconquerable will, superior to all things, even to genius, which elevated him above Vergniaud and Danton, chiefs of a party like himself—more capable of great enterprizes—but less active, less intriguing—their views were more vast than his, but their views were also more obscure, for they knew not frequently at what they aimed.

He never doubted, never for one moment doubted as to the object of *his* endeavours. It was circumscribed, concentrated, clear: amidst all the misery, all the terror, all the victories, and all the glories which stupified

the world, that man saw nothing but the success, the power of one little individual—that individual was himself, was Robespierre. More evil has been said of this triumvir than perhaps he merited. The most powerful of the terrible mountain, he has frequently been taken as its representative. The slayer of those by whom so many had been slaughtered; the sole possessor for a time of the terrible machine which then dictated the law; the vanquisher of the Gironde which had vanquished the monarchy; the vanquisher of C. Desmoulins, who had commenced the revolution, of Danton whose name was so terrible in its annals; he has been considered as a person at once more marvellous and more monstrous than he really was.

Robespierre had this great advantage in the revolution, he arrived late in it. Too insignificant in the national assembly for the part he took there, to be attached to his career, he entered the convention at the head of a new party, whose ungratified ambition panted for action, when the Girondists, having succeeded in their object, were disposed to enjoy in quiet the fruits of the victory they had obtained. But the Girondists could not have gone so far as they had gone, without strongly exciting the passions of the people: and

when the passions of the people are thoroughly excited, that faction the most violent soon becomes the most powerful. In order to understand the real character, the crimes, and the talents of Robespierre, it is necessary to say two or three words more of the views of that party with which he acted.

When St. Just talked of making justice and virtue 'the order of the day,' he was sincere according to his comprehension of those terms. His idea was to banish misery and wealth from society, which he considered the origin of all vice. The St. Simonians of the present day say the same thing. But that which the St. Simonians wish to arrive at by means of the pulpit and the press, St. Just and Marat were determined to arrive at by the guillotine. They did not blind themselves to the necessity of establishing a tyranny for this, but they justified their means by their end: and to sanction the one, made perpetual references to the other.

These two men were fanatics who united the most horrible crimes with the most benevolent intentions. Robespierre was more of an egotist than a fanatic, and adopting the views of his faction less from general principles than private ambition, did not carry them to the same insatiate extent. We find him mild at

times when his comrades are implacable, and it is only during the last two months of his reign, when he saw a system of blood indissolubly connected with himself, that he sent his fellow-citizens by groups of fifty per day down to execution. Even then, however, he was meditating a compromise; and having sent his brother on an expedition into the provinces, would most probably have regulated himself by his advice. Once sensible of the re-action in favour of order, he would probably, if he had lived, have attempted to restore it, and accomplished the part with energy and economy, which the Directory discharged with feebleness and waste

THE DIRECTORY.

The march towards a new 'régime' begun—The government of III.—A system of energy succeeded by a system of repose—Up to a certain time fortunate—Could not continue so when its armies were defeated, its overthrow certain, and its successor sought for—Bonaparte supplied the man whom Sièyes was in search of.

Robespierre was destroyed, but the guillotine was still furnished with victims; and the conquest made in the name of peace supported itself by terror; and "the golden youth," their long hair dressed *à la victime*, were seen running up and down the Boulevards, and hunting their enemies with the same cry of "Liberty!" that had presided over the noyades of Nantes, and the executions of Paris. But the march towards a new régime now began; after the committee, fell the mountain; the Jacobins were cast down; the Faubourgs disarmed; and the bust of Marat removed from the Pantheon as the bust of Mirabeau had been before it. The

re-action which commenced by depriving the people of power ended by the appeal of the royalists to arms, and from the double defeat of the populace, and the sections—rose, the constitution of III., the government of the Directory. The government of the Directory was the regency of the republic. To the system which had been adopted as the means of awaking all the energies of the nation, succeeded a system intended to lull those energies to repose. The city was wooed to pleasure in the balls of the luxurious Barras, and the army employed in suppressing the tumults which the Faubourgs had formerly been instigated to create.

This government had one merit—exposed to the attacks of two different factions, it spilt little blood. Pichegru and his party, with a humanity rare in those times, were transported to Cayenne, and the conspiracy which Babœuf had denounced as so formidable, was suffered to disperse in quiet after the death of its leader. Up to a certain time the Directory was fortunate. At home the royalists and the democrats were alike subdued. Abroad the peace of Campo Formio and the treaty of Radstadt proclaimed in Germany and Italy the power of the republic. But a government perpetually obliged to conquer must be constituted on a system of con-

centration and force, and the constitution of III. was purposely weak, purposely divided; such a government could not always be victorious, and on its first failure its fall was certain. No sooner, then, were its armies on the retreat, than its overthrow was foreseen, and its successor sought for. Bonaparte supplied the man whom Sièyes was in search of—his mind, endowed with all the elements of order and force, was the very type of that genius which the country, turbulent and dissatisfied under the irregular and enfeebled sway of the quintumvirate, desired.

Long torn by factions, accustomed to no particular form of freedom, the people sighed for stability, and did not feel repugnant to change. They knew not that agitation is the necessity of a free state, and that when their general exclaimed, "*Je ne veux point de factions*," he said in reality "*Je ne veux point de liberté.*"

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE.

The constitution of Abbé Sièyes—Excellent, but formed without consideration for the persons who were to perform its parts—Bonaparte at Corsica—At Toulon—As First Consul—Destroyed liberty, maintained equality; sensible of literary influence, and calling himself membre de l'institut, and founding the legion of honor—Took as the foundation of his power the passions of mankind, but could not understand their virtues—His genius was to materialize every thing—His empire, a great mass, which he rolled along, but which without him had no vitality, no power to move—The consulate employed in preparing for the empire—Bonaparte's situation before the war with Spain—All his faults concentrated and made visible in his marriage—Greater than the greatest legitimate kings as their enemy, far smaller than the smallest as the suitor for their alliance—The rising of Germany—The last war—He fell easily, for he stood unsupported—The energies of the nation he represented, pulverized under the weight of his image—Bonaparte not to be judged as an ordinary general—The conduct of the English in persevering in a war against him justified—His statue now put up—

There is a generosity approaching to meanness—The effects of the empire—Advantages and disadvantages—It contains three epochs—Bonaparte mistook public opinion, but always valued it.

THERE never was perhaps a government so vast in its conception, so simple and yet so various in its details, so proper as it appeared for the time, as that proposed after the triumph of Bonaparte by Abbé Sièyes. It offered order, it preserved liberty—immense in its basis, and rising regularly to its apex, it was popular, it was strong, and it gave neither to the masses, nor to one man, a power that could be against the will and the interests of the community. It was an immense design, but it had the fault which on a less stage has frequently marred the effect of genius; it was formed without sufficient consideration of the persons for whom its parts were destined. The soldier who had returned from Egypt to drive the 500 from the Orangery at the point of the bayonet, was not the indolent citizen to be satisfied with the idle guards, or the insignificant splendour of 'grand Electeur.' Sièyes's system was rejected; Sièyes's name was kept as a kind of emblem to the constitution of VIII.—this constitution however, imperfect as it was, obtained double

the number of votes that had appeared in favour of the two preceding ones: so powerful was the desire for repose—so great was the name of Bonaparte. Already in 1792 this enterprising and ambitious soldier had seen the throne of France in his horizon: advised to return to Corsica, and offered the prospect of Paoli's succession; he had said, "*Il est plus aisé de dévenir roi de France que roi de Corse,*" and from that day his star rose steadily and proudly, and as if by an irresistible influence, above the destinies of his contemporaries.

A second-rate officer of artillery at Toulon, and having Marescot, the most expert engineer of his time, for rival, he maintained his opinions before the terrible tribunal which pronounced death when it pronounced censure, and spoke already with the voice and superiority of a master. Commanding under Barras at the battle of Vendémiare, he gave his name to the victory that was obtained, and established for a time the tottering republic that he was doomed to overthrow. Sent as a general to Italy, he assumed the part of a sovereign, received ambassadors, concluded treaties, and formed and overthrew states. Impatient of repose, from Italy he passed to the East, with the desire and the hope of imprinting his genius

upon the soil over which the shadow of so many mighty conquerors has passed, and faded—and at last he returned to take his place in the revolution—which had known many chiefs, but which in him received for the first time—a master.

With that instinct, the attribute of those who are born to command, he saw at once the despotism that was possible, and the characteristics of the time and of the nation he aspired to govern. He quarrelled with no faction—for he wished to found a new system and was willing to comprehend all parties who were willing to compromise their opinions. The sentiment of equality is natural to all men, and if admitted into society takes a deep and eternal root. The love of liberty is a passion that requires long growth; it is remote in its ramifications, difficult in its definition, and for the most part associated with particular laws, and particular institutions, that must have entered into our habits, in order to take a firm hold upon our hearts.

The love of liberty, then, could not exist in France, where *no form of liberty* had existed long. The sentiment of equality, on the contrary, had instantaneously penetrated into the core of the nation. Bonaparte crushed at once that which was lightly loved and carelessly defended: he maintained that which was difficult, if not im-

possible to destroy. You see this double action in all his works—you see it in his codes—where he attempts to make every citizen equal before the law, and to raise every act of his power above the law. You see it in his administration, where his justice as governor supplied that justice which should have been found in the statutes of his government, and where he punished with severity, the vexations and oppressions which he forbad the nation to punish. His despotism was terrible, but his despotism was just and glorious, and buoyed up gracefully and majestically by many of the dispositions of the French.

When I said that Louis XVI. might perhaps have continued to reign, if he could have flattered the literary ambition of the eighteenth century, by destroying the privileges of the court, which only accorded honours to arms, and restricted the use of arms to the nobility—when I said that the old monarchy was perhaps possible, if the aristocracy could have been regenerated by the new ideas which Voltaire had promulgated from his throne at Ferney, and which gave to literature and the arts the position in the state which they were accorded in society—when I said this—I said that which Bonaparte saw when he assumed as his

proudest title, previous to the consulate, "*Membre de l' institut*," and when as first consul, he founded the legion of honour, and gave to Massena the first general, and David the first painter of the kingdom—the same mark, and the same title of distinction.

It was thus that he united the vanity natural to the French with the passion for equality, which had become to them a second nature, and threw upon the moving sands of the revolution which every wind had previously dispersed, those masses of granite on which many still believe that his edifice might have stood with security, if it had not aspired to the skies. Carried beyond the pitch of his intentions by the ardour of his character, the policy of Napoléon was, notwithstanding, every where profound. He took as the foundation of his power the passions of mankind: religion is one—he re-established religion: war is another—he indulged in war to an excess that would sooner have wearied any other nature than that of the Gauls.

The aim of the present to appear gigantic to the future was ever present to his eyes, and in roads, canals, bridges, he has traced on every side of him those vast characters on which prosperity is transmitted to distant generations. But great in his designs, great in him-

self, he saw little beyond the weaknesses, the material wants of his fellow men: he beheld in the revolution the ambition which distracted and lost it—but he neither beheld nor believed, (in spite of the courage of Carnot,) the disinterestedness and the devotion which had ennobled and produced it. This was his error.

The superiority of virtue over vice in government, is, that in vice there is no fecundity, no productive principle of duration. If you wish your machine to last, you will harden and elevate the elements it is composed of. You must govern men, according to the passions of mankind —but if you wish your government to endure, you will infuse into those passions something of that sublime and immaterial nature which furnishes us with the conception of eternity.

Now, the genius of Bonaparte, especially mathematic, was to materialize every thing. He saw and seized at once those feelings which he found, and out of which his government was to be shaped; he combined, consolidated those feelings into a form, compact, solid, strong; but in their composition he destroyed their vitality. His empire became an immense mass wieldy in his gigantic hands, and which he rolled impetuously along—under his guidance, and together, it was terrible, and for a long time irresistible;—deprived of him, (broken by the

shock of a still mightier, because a more moral force,) it was nothing; for it had no life, no individuality, no soul.

The Consulate was employed in collecting the materials for the empire: and in his generals, his solicitors, and his senate, Napoléon found the marshals, the chamberlains, and the ministers, that were to support and decorate the imperial throne. The office which he held ostensibly from the nation, but which in reality he owed to his sword, was to be sanctioned before his soldiers by a victory, and the campaign which terminated at Marengo placed the modern Annibal above the most renowned generals of antiquity. The assumption of the imperial purple demanded a similar exploit, and the battle of Austerlitz raised the destinies of the empire above the glories of the republic.

Here is the point where Napoléon might at once have consulted his security and his ambition: absolute over France, and over Italy, as emperor and king—over Spain, by the servility of its minister—over Switzerland, by the act of moderation—over Holland and Naples, by his two brothers—and having at his orders the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the confederation of the Rhine—what enemy had he to fear—save his own mind? His tyranny had hitherto been applauded,

and he reigned over the greatest part of Europe, without shocking the feelings of its inhabitants.

Thus may reason the philosopher and the historian: thus rarely reason those upon whose deeds the philosopher and the historian meditate, and who have usually shown more temerity and more madness, in the first obscure steps of their career, than in those which carry them finally beyond the possibilities of human ambition.

Bonaparte had risen hitherto by the victories he had achieved, the admiration he had excited, the conspiracies he had subdued. Attacked at home and abroad, he had been successful in his defence. In France, his despotism was wise, his glory was great, and on the continent he had combated the sovereigns and their armies, but he had rather appeared as a protector than an enemy to the people. His impolitic spoliation of Prussia, his unjustifiable seizure of Spain, brought new elements into the conflict against him.

From that moment the emperor of the French, who had hitherto been considered as a being apart, became one of the ordinary kings of the earth, and awakened the feelings which an emperor of Austria or of Russia would awaken now, if he declared war against the liberties of Europe. Confounded with the mass of monarchs, he sought their alliance, and the hand

which had been at the service of Barras was offered to the daughter of the Cæsars.

All Bonaparte's faults may be concentrated into this act, by which he was at once separated from the system he had formed, and the career he had traversed—and, transformed—from the daring adventurer, taking the lead in a new order of things—into one of those 'Vieilles Perruques' which, up to that hour, had been the victims of his arms, and the objects of his ridicule. No fault is so absurd in a public man as that of confusing the nature of his position.

As long as he is the decided enemy of one party, the decided friend of another, he never has any occasion to halt or to hesitate. He knows those from whom he may expect enmity, and those to whom he may naturally look for assistance. But the instant he complicates his relations, every action and consideration become uncertain. He has something to hope, something to fear in either course he may adopt; and doubts, as to the manner in which he may be most certain to succeed, prevent that concentration of purpose, which is so essential to success. Bonaparte was the child of new thoughts and new feelings, to which his genius had given a gigantic force, and of which he stood for the time as the representative, before alarmed and astonish-

ed Europe. He had turned a republic, it is true, into a military empire, and round his throne stood a new aristocracy. But still he had hitherto ruled as an elder brother over a nation of soldiers, and the titles he had given were so many orders of merit distributed to the most deserving of the people.

He was not the master, but the organ of public opinion, and through him, as through a trumpet, spake the warlike genius of the French.

To those who possessed the ancient thrones, the wasted prerogatives and worn-out genealogies of antique Europe, he was naturally opposed. They could not make peace with him, without making peace with a principle at war with their own existence. As long as he saw this, his course was plain; his enemies were before him, and it was only in the sympathies that he could enlist against them, that he could hope to find allies.

As the foe of the legitimate monarchs, he was ten thousand times greater than they; but there was not a petty prince in Germany whom he did not sink beneath, when he became a suitor for their alliance. The prestige which made him superior to other men was gone: even those around him felt their consequence diminished; and all the new names and glories of France sunk into comparative insignificance, when it appeared that

Napoléon himself found it necessary to mingle the renown of his deeds with the 'historical blood' of the enemy he had subdued, and seemed to doubt the reality of his dignity, and to deem that his diadem could not be truly royal, until it was placed on the legitimate brows of a daughter of some ancient dynasty.

The refusal of his alliance in Russia was an almost certain presage of his subsequent defeat there; and the miserable policy with which he afterwards preferred consulting the interest of his Austrian father-in-law, to conferring liberty on Poland, betrayed all the errors he fell into from the falsity of his position. The only success which attended his new alliance was the birth of a son, heir to an empire already on the decline. The reaction which commenced with Russia, Prussia, and with Spain, and which rapidly extended itself by the continental system throughout Europe, was signalized by the defection of the emperor of Austria, notwithstanding the courtesies of his son-in-law, and the rising of the whole of the north of Germany, after that memorable campaign in which Napoléon left amongst the snows and the ruins of Moscow the character of his troops and the charm of his renown.

He was vanquished at the moment when it was most necessary for him to conquer; for

the nation, long enslaved by his glory, was fatigued by his dominion. Crushed beneath the conscription, the impositions, and the *cours prévôtales* of Napoléon, the citizen languished for security, quiet, and commerce, while the priest conspired in his prison against the enemy of the pope, and the ex-minister of the empire plotted to be minister of the 'restoration.'

Then it was, that, driven behind the Rhine, abandoned by the people he defended, alone against the world, Bonaparte relied upon his veteran soldiers, and his own genius, and prepared, with a skill and a courage suited to his better days, to protect France from the armies who, profiting by the returning tide of war, were pouring on to her invasion. Swartzenburg was advancing by Switzerland, Blucher by Francfort, Bernadotte by Holland, and the English under the command of Wellington —the English, who had never bowed the neck, nor relaxed in the pursuit—the English, proud of their indomitable perseverance—looked down on their ancient enemy from the heights of the Pyrennees.

It was not long before these hostile bands dictated their terms of peace to the inhabitants of Paris. At Prague, Napoléon might have bounded his empire by the Rhine: at Châtillon he might have sat upon the throne of

ancient France. All that now remained to him was—the sovereignty of Elba—to which he retreated. Thus fell the only man who in modern times has aspired to universal dominion! —after having planted his standard in every capital of Europe, except London — after having visited as a conqueror Rome, Naples, Madrid, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow—after having gained a kingdom at every battle, and distributed crowns and sceptres with the majesty and the omnipotence of a providence, one reverse defeated him: and he fell easily, for he stood unsupported. The energies of the nation he represented were pulverized under the weight of his image. Even the military spirit which had hitherto sustained, forsook him—when in one year he demanded one million one hundred thousand soldiers from a population that had already sustained three thousand battles.

The later years of his reign, splendid for his military achievements, but pale in the aspect of his fortunes, were stained by a weakness from which one vainly hopes that heroes may be free. It was then that the king of kings boasted he was a gentleman—it was then that the severe, but frank and friendly soldier, degenerated into the bourgeois emperor, and surrounded himself with all the antiquated *niaiseries* of a Bourbon court. One sickens at the

disgusting vulgarity with which he sought to fill his palace with a proud nobility that despised him : at his respect for the "*dames du château,*" and those who under the old régime engrossed the privilege of riding in the royal coaches. Ambitious to be revered more as the monarch than the warrior, he was now rather surrounded by courtiers than by pupils. He inspired less the passion of glory than the desire to rise; and his marshals, different from the poor and enthusiastic generals of the republic, thought less of the country than of the estates for which they fought, less of the victory they had to gain than of the principality that would reward it.

As a warrior Bonaparte is not to be judged by ordinary rules—by his simple success or failure on the field of battle. Some great political conception was usually connected with his military plans, and he fought not to gain a post or a place, but to change the destinies of the world. It was frequently necessary, then, not merely to obtain a victory, but to obtain it in a particular manner —to frighten Europe by the audacity of his designs, as much as by the success of their execution—and so we see during the whole of his carcer he hardly ever gained a battle without dictating a peace. Indeed it was the immense

consequences attendant upon his victories that should have taught him that they could not often be repeated. No one yet ever played for a number of years with the chances against him in order to win much, without finally losing all.

But the despotism which had been organized to make war, rendered war necessary to continue it. "France was obliged to conquer Europe, or Europe to conquer France:"*—the phrase is the phrase of a French general attached to the person of Bonaparte, and the Englishman who reads it, and who has had the opportunity of inquiring into the vast plans, and of tracing the vast ambition of Napoéon Bonaparte—will acknowledge —ay, even despite the taxes and the calamities which a long war necessarily entails—will still acknowledge—if he have the courage to rise above the prejudices of party faction—that as Europe owes a great debt to England for her perseverance, so England owes a great debt to those ministers and those warriors by whose unwearied energy and untiring resolution the only peace was obtained which could really guarantee the liberty of mankind.†

* General Foy's Peninsular war.

† I do not approve of our conduct to Bonaparte when he was at our mercy, nor of our conduct to France in 1815, when we should not have confounded the nation

One of the circumstances most difficult to reconcile with the violent royalism, the constitutional doctrines, and the passionate republicanism of the present day, is the still remaining affection among all parties for their ancient emperor.

Forgetful of the sentiment with which they shook off his tyranny, the partizans of almost every opinion now unite in chaunting the same fatiguing hymn of applause; and as one among the many marvels of our epoch, we saw the monarchy which rose upon the shoulders of a free press, banish Lafayette from its councils, and re-establish the statue of Bonaparte.

There is a generosity which approaches to meanness. What can a government, preaching peace, professing liberty, have to do with the conqueror who broke under the wheels of his war-chariot every law but that of his own will? Can it admire him? No: why should it profess admiration? Ay! cry the French, the foot of a

with the army, nor humiliated a brave people, with whom we wished to rest in peace; but, opposed as I am, and have ever been, to many of the principles of that party who then possessed power in England, I think it but an act of justice to observe, that the long war it engaged us in appears to me a fatal necessity—dangerous to obey, but with such a man as Bonaparte on the throne of France, impossible to avoid.

despot was on our necks; but his despotism was glorious!—'glorious!'

> Vous avez vu *tomber* la gloire
> D'un héros trop indompté
> Qui prit l'autel de la victoire,
> Pour l'autel de la liberté,
> Vingt nations ont poussé
> Jusqu'en vos murs——le char impérieux!

Where, Frenchmen, was the glory of having the Cossacks encamped in your walls, and a sovereign dictated to you by the stranger? Never was France, since Crecy and Agincourt, in so pitiable a condition as at the end of that reign with which you connect her glory. Her commerce was destroyed, her industry repressed, her population absorbed by a system too weak to keep the enemy from her capital. From 1802 to 1817 (fifteen years) the number of patents were only increased by 56,000.* From 1817 to 1829, (but twelve years,) they underwent an increase of 253,000.† In 1814 the births in Paris were 21,247; *deaths*, 27,815.

These are facts that signalize the glories of

* Patents in 1802, 791,500; 1817, 847,100.

† Patents in 1817, 847,100; 1829, 1,101,193.

the empire; and such is the difference between peace and war, between even an enlightened despotism and an imperfect constitution. The continent which he conquered owes more to Napoleon than the nation subservient to his conquests. Abroad he carried the civilization and the code of France. In the old kingdoms, which have been re-established, he destroyed many of the old ideas, which it has become impossible to restore. Wherever he carried defeat, he carried improvement, and the communications which were to facilitate victory, have been utilized to industry and commerce.

At home he repressed many of the energies which elsewhere he excited. But in criticising his reign, it would be unjust to deny its advantages. The same passion which carried Bonaparte to Egypt and to Moscow, expended itself in the interior of his kingdom on those bridges, canals, triumphal arches, and memorable edifices, with which France during his power was decorated and improved. The same system, which for a time so fatally confined industry within certain channels, gave a stimulus to native manufactures. The same unlimited thirst for glory which finally brought the stranger within his dominions, mounted up the mind of the French to a pitch which will long render them capable

of great achievements: and, lastly, that spirit of concentration and force which destroyed many of the principles and benefits of the revolution, consolidated and secured the rest. He was as much the creature of circumstances as of his own genius; both contributed to his success, both contributed to his fall.

The reign of Bonaparte, instead of an argument for despising public opinion, is a strong proof of its power—a power which he never offended with impunity, and to which, even in his most unpopular acts, he always paid a certain attention. It contains three epochs: the first when the nation and the army were one, and military success abroad and security at home *were the public opinion.* To this period Bonaparte properly belonged. This was the era suited to his genius, and he was then what he idly believed himself afterwards, the real and sole representative of the people.

The next period is that, when hurried on by his genius he passed by that public opinion which lay in the course which he pursued: the admiration for military glory which had carried him to the highest place in the republic, he made the foundation of an arbitrary empire—the desire for security, which had strengthened his hands as a

free magistrate, he made the basis of a servile submission. The policy of reigning by an army separates the army from the nation, and gives to each its particular views, and its particular interests. In France, where the whole population was deeply imbued with a love of arms, this division would naturally take place with a certain insensibility and slowness that nearly rendered its progress unperceived. The victory of Austerlitz was celebrated with almost as much national enthusiasm as if it had been gained by the first consul: but the battles which followed, in which success was equally as complete and equally as glorious, seem to have created among the people at large only a moderate sensation; and the triumphs of Eckmuhl and Ratisbonne, in the trophies of which might be counted twenty thousand prisoners, added less to the glory of the conqueror than to the satiety (beginning to exist) of conquest. The third and last portion of Napoleon's reign commences where his despotic spirit had created a reaction in public opinion, which had formerly favoured tyranny by its passion for repose, while his warlike genius, equally extreme, had wearied even the martial ardour of his soldiers. It was then that liberty acquired new force by every im-

perial decree destined to subdue it, and that that great army was defeated which had marched almost dispiritedly to conquest.*

* To any one who reads the conspiracy of Mallet, Bonaparte will not appear to have been lost at Moscow. When a soldier of fortune (escaped from prison with eighteen francs for his treasure, and only those whom a disposition to be credulous might render dupes, for his accomplices) could endanger a throne which had no hereditary prestige for support, the popularity on which it stood was a treacherous quicksand. But while the essential qualities of Bonaparte's genius, seeming to acquire additional force by the continuance of their action, irresistibly prescribed his course, the clearness of his judgment always showed what ought to be his object. He always felt and saw that his power was that of popular favour and public opinion; but those strong energies in his character, which had made him a type of the inclinations of a particular period, were too indomitable to be turned or constrained towards the wants and wishes of another. He was far *from despising popularity;* but *decision and force* being the *characteristics of his genius,* he always flattered himself that it was *by decision and force that popularity was to be obtained.*

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

[DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO—Chabrol's Statistique de Paris—Dr. Bowring's Report—Census of Paris.]

It was at the end of the reign of Louis XV. that gambling-houses, privileged by the police, first established themselves at Paris. Then there were:—

Dufour, rue neuve des Mathurins.
Amyot et Fontaine, rue Richelieu.
Deschamps, faubourg St. Germain.
Nollet, rue Richelieu.
Andrieu, au Pont-aux-Choux.
Chavigny, rue Montmartre.
Delzène, rue Plâtrière.
Pierry, rue Cléry.
Barbaroux, rue des Petits-Pères.
Herbert, au café de la Régence.
David et Dufresnoy.
Odelin, rue Neuve des Petits-Champs.

Latour, rue Feydeau.
Bouillerot, à l'Arche Marion.
Boyer et Remy, rue Richelieu.

At present Paris contains eight such gambling-houses. Four at the

Palais Royal, Nos. 154, 129, 113, et 36.
One, rue Marivaux, No. 13.
One, rue du Bac, No. 31
One, at Frascati's rue Richelieu.
One, at the grand salon, rue Richelieu.

The privilege is at present granted at the price of 6,500,000 francs, which are paid into the treasury through the medium of the city of Paris, which receives 6,500,000, and pays 6,000,000. The company, besides this, are obliged to surrender to the municipality three-quarters of its clear benefits, and the police assist every day at the closing of the accounts.

Income of one thousand francs according to Mr. Millot.

	Francs.
For Taxes direct, indirect, local, &c. . .	136 05
Food, of which the proportions per cent. are	
26 drink .	
34 animal food	
19 bread .	
11 colonials . .	352·43
7 vegetables	
2 condiments	
1 water	

Education of children	35·75
Rent and repair of buildings	114·
Clothing	70·48
Light and fuel	68·18
Washing	36·
Furnishing houses	68·02
Expenses for servants	46·
Horses and carriages	32·88
Coach hire	11·54
Tobacco	6·51
Baths	3·20
Charity	11·42
Medical attendance	11·56
Newspaper	3·43
Theatres	7·09
Other expenses	6·44
Francs	1020·98

Dr. Bowring has, I find, in his late report, given this calculation. Nothing can be more false as a picture of the expense of any individual; but as far as the habits of the mass are concerned, it gives, if correct, a general idea.

Consumption of the City of Paris for the year 1832.

Wine	595,585	hectolitres.
Brandy	27,794	,,
Cider and Perry	12,352	,,
Vinegar	17,902	,,
Beer	78,948	,,

Oxen	678,159	head.
Cows	15,290	„
Calves	60,237	„
Sheep	306,327	„
Swine	67,241	„
Meat of all kinds	3,117,759	kilogrammes
Pork	492,820	„
Dry Cheeses	986,532	„
Oysters	731,590	francs.
Fresh-water Fish	399,967	„
Butter	9,196,274	„
Eggs	4,053,959	„
Poultry and Game	6,660,590	„
Hay	7,655,592	bundles.
Straw	11,511,976	„
Oats	893,873	hectolitres.

It is not worth while to put in the "carte" of a restaurant referred to, but I have had the curiosity to count the number of articles it contained, and which I gave as 200, I find 302.

RAPPORTS FROM M. CHABROL.

It was my original intention to have quoted very largely from the reports published annually, during the time M. Chabrol was préfet de la Seine, the materials for which still continue to be collected—reports which contain the most curious, and interesting, and valuable information. It was my original intention to have closed this volume with a great variety of tables taken from these reports.* I have been induced, however, to refrain from this; first, because I have some consideration for the feelings of those readers who would have shrunk in dismay from a book which put on so formidable and business-like an appearance; and, secondly, because I find these reports, though not originally sold, may yet be purchased, and it is therefore possible to refer to them. Refer to them I do therefore, and in order that the reader may not be disappointed, I subjoin an enumeration of the contents of one volume, published as, "Recherches Statistiques sur la Ville de Paris et le Departement de la Seine, 1826."

* These reports have been framed by the 'Chef du bureau de Statistique de la ville de Paris,' under the direction of M. Fourier, 'secrétaire de l'académie des sciences,' and the author of the very remarkable memoirs at the head of each volume.

Énumération Générale des Objets Contenus dans ce Recueil.

TABLEAUX STATISTIQUES.

TABLEAU météorologique (1822.)
——— *idem* (1823.)
Résumé des principales observations qui ont été faites à Paris depuis le milieu du XVII.e siècle.
Tableau de la hauteur des eaux (1822.)
—— *idem* (1823.)
Chemins de halage des bateaux le long de la Seine et de la Marne, dans le département.
Canal de la Seine à la Seine.—1.re branche. Canal S. Denis. 2.e *idem.* Canal S. Martin.
Note de rectification à faire dans le rapport des hauteurs de différens points du département de la Seine au niveau de l'Océan (*Recueil publié en* 1823, *tableau* 21.)
Tableau géologique du sol du département de la Seine.
Aperçu géognostique du territoire du département de la Seine.
——— *idem* du territoire de chaque commune (arrondissement de Saint Denis.)
——— *idem* (arrondissement de Sceaux.)
Substances minérales combustibles.

Substances métalliques.
——— pierreuses et terreuses.
Chaux carbonatée.
Idem sulfatée.
Quartz.
Cailloux roulés, gravier, sable et sablon.
Argile et marne.
Diverses.

Relevé général des actes de l'état civil dans le département de la Seine, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1822.)

——— des actes de naissance dans le département, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1822.)

Détails concernant les enfans naturels (1822.)

——— concernant les enfans morts-nés (1822.)

Relevé des actes de mariage dans le département, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1822.)

——— des actes de décès dans le département, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1822.)

Tableau des décès, avec distinction d'âge, de sexe et d'état de mariage (*ville de Paris* 1822.)

Détails concernant les morts accidentelles (*ville de Paris* 1822.)

——— concernant les suicides (1822.)

——— concernant les décès pour cause de petite vérole, et les vaccinations gratuites (*ville de Paris*, 1822.)

Relevé général des actes de l'état civil dans le département de la Seine, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1823.)

Relevé des actes de naissance dans le département, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1823.)

Détails concernant les enfans naturels (1823.)

——— concernant les enfans morts-nés (1823.)

Relevé des actes de mariage dans le département, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1823.)

——— des actes de décès dans le département, pour chaque mois et par arrondissement (1823.)

Tableau des décès, avec distinction d'âge, de sexe et d'état de mariage (*ville de Paris*, 1823.)

Details concernant les morts accidentelles (*ville de Paris*, 1823.)

——— concernant les suicides (1823.)

——— concernant les décès pour cause de petite vérole, et les vaccinations gratuites (*ville de Paris*, 1823.)

Mouvement moyen de la population dans chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

Nombre moyen annuel des naissances dans chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris, rapporté à la population des deux sexes (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

——— *idem* des naissances d'enfans légitimes dans chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris, rapporté à la population des deux sexes et au nombre des mariages (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

——— *idem* des naissances d'enfans naturels dans

chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris, rapporté à la population des deux sexes et au nombre des enfans naturels reconnus (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

Nombre moyen des enfans morts-nés dans chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris, rapporté à celui des naissances pour les deux sexes (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

——— *idem* annuel des mariages dans chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris, rapporté à la population (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

——— *idem* des décès à domicile dans chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris, rapporté à la population des deux sexes (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

——— *idem* des décès dans les hôpitaux et hospices civils de Paris, évalués pour chacun des arrondissemens, et rapporté à la population des deux sexes (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, et 1821.)

Observations relatives au nombre des décès dans les hôpitaux et hospices civils distribués proportionnellement dans chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris (*tableau* No. 49.)

Nombre moyen annuel des décès à domicile et aux hôpitaux et hospices réunis, pour chacun des 12 arrondissemens de la ville de Paris, rapporté à la population des deux sexes (1817, 1818, 1819, 1820 et 1821.)

Comparaison des nombres respectifs des naissances dans les différens mois de l'année (1770 à 1787.)

———— des valeurs moyennes des nombres respectifs des naissances dans les différens mois de l'année (1770 à 1787.)

———— des nombres respectifs des mariages dans les différens mois de l'année (1770 à 1787.)

———— des valeurs moyennes des nombres respectifs des mariages dans les différens mois de l'année (1770 à 1787.)

Secours administrés aux individus noyés (1822.)

——— *idem* (1823.)

Tableau des voitures de place, voitures publiques, &c. dans la ville de Paris (1824), et renseignemens concernant le nombre des voyageurs.

Service des inhumations (1824.)

Cimetière du Nord (*Montmartre*, 1824.)

———— du Sud-ouest (*Vaugirard*, 1824.)

———— de l'Est (*de Mont-Louis ou du Père la Chaise*, 1824.)

Récapitulation des monumens et sépultures des trois cimetières.

Catacombes.

Jugemens rendus par le tribunal de commerce du département de la Seine; nombre des faillites et arrestations en vertu de contrainte par corps (1822 et 1823.)

Tableau des décisions rendues par le conseil de préfecture du département de la Seine, depuis l'an 8 jusqu'en 1823 inclusivement.

Résumé général des levées qui ont été faites dans *le département de la Seine*, en vertu de la loi du recrutement, pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822 et 1823.

Détails concernant la composition du contingent et les causes d'exemption pour les mêmes années.

Tableau des différentes espèces d'infirmités ou difformités qui ont donné lieu à l'application de l'article 14 de la loi du recrutement, et du nombre des jeunes gens qui ont été réformés pendant les mêmes années.

Récapitulation des différentes professions des jeunes gens compris dans la liste départementale du contingent pour les mêmes années.

Recherches statistiques relatives à l'ancienne conscription pendant les années 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813 et 1814.

Tableau des maladies, difformités et infirmités qui ont motivé la réforme des conscrits du département de la Seine, pendant les années 9, 10, 11. 12, 13, 14; 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809 et 1810.

Résumé général des comptes de situation des hospices et hôpitaux civils de la ville de Paris, année 1821, 1822, 1823.

Tableau des indigens secourus à domicile, année 1821, 1822.

Détails concernant les secours distribués à domicile (1822.)

Tableau des indigens secourus à domicile (1823.)

Détails concernant les secours distribués à domicile (1823.)

Tableau comparatif de la population des établissemens hospitaliers de la ville de Paris, en 1786 et en 1822.

Résumé général du mouvement de population des aliénés dans l'hospice de Bicêtre, pendant les années 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820; et rapports divers relatifs aux causes d'aliénation et aux professions des aliénés.

——— général du mouvement de population des aliénées dans l'hospice de la Salpêtrière, pendant les années 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820; et rapports divers relatifs aux causes d'aliénation et aux professions des aliénées.

——— général du mouvement de population des aliénés dans l'hospice de Bicêtre, pour l'année 1821; et renseignemens concernant les causes d'aliénation, la profession, l'âge et la durée du séjour des aliénés à l'hospice.

Résumé général du mouvement de population des aliénées dans l'hospice de la Salpêtrière, pour l'année 1824; et renseignemens concernant les causes d'aliénation, la profession, l'âge et la durée du séjour des aliénées à l'hospice.

Etat des consommations principales dans la ville de Paris pendant les années 1822, 1823 et 1824.

Relevé des différens prix du pain blanc dans la ville

de Paris, pendant les années 1821, 1822, 1823 et 1824.

Etat et prix moyen des bestiaux vendus sur les marchés de Poissy, Sceaux et S. Denis. Année 1822, 1823, 1824.

Tableau des prix courans de la viande sur pied aux marchés de Sceaux et de Poissy, pendant les années 1822, 1823 et 1824.

——— des engagemens et des dégagemens faits au Mont-de-Piété, pendant les années 1821, 1822, 1823 et 1824.

——— concernant les récoltes dans les deux arrondissemens ruraux du département de la Seine (1822.)

——— *idem* dans le département de la Seine (1822.)

Tableau concernant les récoltes dans les deux arrondissemens ruraux du département de la Seine (1823.)

——— *idem* dans le département de la Seine (1823.)

——— concernant les récoltes dans les deux arrondissemens ruraux du département de la Seine (1824.)

——— *idem* dans le département de la Seine (1824.)

Fabrication du verre et du cristal.

——— de la bière.

——— de diverses couleurs.

Fabrication d'encre à écrire et d'encre d'imprimerie.
———— du borax par l'acide borique.
Raffinage du camphre.
———— du sel.
Fabrication du salpêtre.
———— de l'iode.
———— de la potasse factice.
———— d'eau de javelle.
———— de sous-chlorure de chaux.
———— de deuto-chlorure de mercure (*sublimé corrosif*)
———— de chlorate de potasse.
———— d'acide pyroligneux et d'acétate de fer et de soude.
———— d'acide nitrique.
———— d'acide sulfurique.
———— de soude et d'acide muriatique.
———— de sulfate de kinine.
Epuration d'huiles de graine.
Fabrication d'huile de pieds de bœuf, onglons aplatis et colle noire.
———— de colle forte.
———— de suif d'os.
———— de cordes et autres produits de boyaux.
———— de charbon ou noir animal et de sel ammoniac.
———— de cirage.
Fonderies et forges de fer.
Affinage des matières d'or et d'argent.

Affinage des matières plombeuses et argentifères.
Fabriques de plomb ouvré.
Tableau des marchandises qui ont été exportées à l'étranger par la douane de Paris (1822 et 1823.)
Relevé des quantités de diverses marchandises coloniales ou exotiques introduites annuellement à Paris.
Devis estimatif des frais de construction d'une maison neuve, à Paris, dans des proportions données; et renseignemens divers relatifs à la construction des maisons (1824.)
Tableau systématique des ouvrages qui ont été imprimés en France pendant l'année 1824, et dont une très-grande partie sort des presses de la ville de Paris.
——— comparatif de l'exposition des produits de l'industrie dans le département de la Seine (1821 et 1823.)

Rapport fait par M. le Comte *de Chabrol*, Conseiller d'état, Préfet du département de la Seine, au Conseil général de ce département, sur le moyen d'amener et de distribuer les eaux dans la ville de Paris et sa banlieue.

This enumeration is long, but it is more important than may at first appear; it is important because it tells the reader at once what he can find by a reference to the volumes in question—it is more important because it shows the vast extent of those subjects, on which by a little order and arrangement, it is possible to give the most interest-

ing information;—here it will appear that there is hardly any subject which can interest the inhabitants of Paris and the department of the Seine, which may be curious to the traveller, or interesting to the statesman, that the government has not found it possible to procure and to give, not with perfect accuracy, perhaps, but still with sufficient accuracy to enable one, on a long series of years, to come to certain conclusions. That we are to receive all statistical documents with a certain hesitation, I have already said in the course of this work is my belief; and I should be very cautious in building up, or in placing confidence in any improbable theory which rested upon such foundations. There are many subjects, however, in these reports—some the most interesting—which the system of administration in France affords every facility for ascertaining. The tables in question, then, place the vast number of suicides,* and the number of natural children, in Paris and its environs, beyond dispute. These tables allow you to form some opinion as to the physical and moral effect of the different seasons, their effect on births, deaths, and marriages. These tables give you the general climate of the French metropolis, and they detail to you all the circumstances connected with the industry, with the charity, with the wealth, with the distress, with some of the most interesting maladies, such as madness, that are to be found in the department.

* The calculation is, as I have said, under the mark.

It is with regret that I confine myself to extracting a few among the facts relating to these subjects. *

Population *in* 1822.*—Paris: births, 26,880; born in marriage at home, 16,841; hospitals, 288; total in marriage, 17,129. Out of marriage, at home, 4,896; in hospitals, 4,765; total illegitimate, 9,751. Illegitimate children recognized at their birth, 2,270; not recognized, 7,481. Recognized after birth by celebration of marriage, 700; otherwise recognized, 172. Add (recognized at birth) 2,270; total recognized, 3,142, out of 9,751.

Violent deaths.—Females, 181; males, 427; total, 608. By capital punishments, 5. Asphyxiés-14; by charcoal, 38; by suffocation, 14; by drowning, 169; by fire-arms, 24; by strangulation, 20; by poison, 8; by suicide, the means being unknown, 11; assassinated, 3; falls, 84; burns, 52; wounds by sharp instruments, 49; fractions, contusions, &c. 96; run over, 20. It is to be observed, that in all the easy modes of death, asphyxiés, by charcoal, suffocation, and poison, there are as many female as male deaths. In accidents by fire, 38 women perish, and but 14 men.

Suicides dans le Département de la Seine, année 1822.—Male, 206; females, 111; total, 317. Followed by death, 215. Effected or tried: not followed by death, 102. By unmarried individuals, 161; married, 156; total, 317.

* The part on population is the best.

Détails concernant les Suicides dans le Département de la Seine. Année 1822.

Moyens de Destruction Employés.	Nombre des Suicides.	Nombre des Suicides.	Motifs Présumés des Suicides.
Chutes graves volontaires - -	33	21	Passions amoureuses.
Strangulation - - - -	21	128	Maladies, dégoût de la vie, faiblesse et aliénation d'esprit, querelles et chagrins domestiques.
Instrumens tranchans, piquans, &c. -	31		
Armes à feu - - -	48	30	Mauvaise conduite, jeu, loterie, débauche, &c.
Empoisonnement - - -	15	59	Indigence, perte de places, d'emplois, dérangement d'affaires.
Asphyxiés par le charbon - -	49	8	Crainte de reproches et de punitions.
Idem par submersion - - -	120	71	Motifs inconnus.
— Total - -	317	317	

Nota. Les suicides commis *extrà muros*, provenant pour la plupart de la population de Paris, il n'en a été fait aucune distinction dans le tableau.

The average amount of the population of Paris (taken from different tables) in the years 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821, is as follows:—Births —males, 12,337; females, 11,877; total, 24,214. Marriages, 6,316. Deaths—males, 10,906; females, 11,410; total, 22,316. Births at home, of both sexes, 24,214, of which 15,472 are legitimate. Proportions of legitimate children to marriages will be: marriages, 6,316; number of births to one marriage, 2, 4 (1.) Natural children, born at home, males, 2,320; females, 2,234; born at the lying-in hospital, males, 2,143; females, 4,463; total, 8,760; of which 2,056 are recognized.

Marriages between bachelors and maids, 5,128; with widows, 314. Marriages contracted by bachelors, 5,442; by widowers, 874. Between widowers and maids, 652; widowers and widows, 222. Total by maids, 5,780; total by widows, 536.

According to the table of the married and unmarried population, for the year 1817, published under No. 4, in 1821, we have,

1. The number of married men to that of married women in the report is as 128 to 129.

2. The number of bachelors of all ages to widowers is as 11,78 to 1.

3. The number of maids of all ages to widows is as 3,71 to 1.

4. The number of maids of all ages to bachelors of all ages is as 1,075 to 1.

5. The number of widows to widowers is as 3,41 to 1.

Number of Deaths.—At home: males, 6,259; females, 7,058; total, 13,317. In hospitals and charitable institutions: males, 3,634; females, 4,082; total, 7,716.

Deaths on 10,000 inhabitants during these five years: 145 males to 163 females. Total number of deaths in each year, 21,033: females, 11,140; males, 9,893. Died at home, 13,317; in hospitals and benevolent institutions, 7,716.

By a calculation taken from the year 1670 to the year 1787, it would appear that there are the most births in February, the fewest in December, and the boys seem to be five per cent. above the number of girls born in the different months. So in respect to marriages, taking the same period, there seem to be the most marriages in February, the fewest in December.

COMMERCE.—Before the Tribunal of Commerce, in 1822 and 1823, there were 13,707 cases decided, and 280 bankruptcies, and 692 arrests for debt; out of the number of persons thus arrested, 463 were imprisoned, and 223 discharged by making some arrangement.

CHARITY.—*City of Paris.**—In 1786, the popula-

* There is much valuable information on this subject in a book, entitled, "Le Visiteur du pauvre," 1 vol in 8vo.

tion in the different hospitals and charitable institutions of Paris was 28,855; *i. e.* children, 17,672; persons in the charitable institutions, 8,162; in hospitals, 3,021. In 1822, total number 35,630; *i. e.* children, 20,545; charitable institutions, 9,990; hospitals, 5,095; increase, from 1786 to 1822, 6,775 persons.

	francs.	cts.
Revenues of hospitals and charitable institutions in 1822 . . .	9,849,652	94
Expenses	9,705,689	26
Balance in hand . .	143,963	68

The number of persons who received assistance at home from the bureaux of charity in 1822, was 54,371; *i. e.* 7,753 girls; 7,657 boys; 25,127 women; 13,834 men; expense, 1,182,483 francs. Nature of relief—561,773 loaves of two kilos. each loaf;* of meat 134,939½ kilos.; flower to the mères 'nourrices,' 130 sacks; tickets for soup, 5,500; bundles of wood, 52,891; in money distributed, 40,979 francs. The rest in shoes, stockings, petticoats, shirts, mattresses, &c. &c.

* The kilogramme is equal to 2lb. 3oz. avoir.

Tableau des Engagemens et Dégagemens faits au Mont-de-piété pendant l'année 1822.

ENGAGEMENS.				Articles.	Sommes.	Valeur moyenne d'un article.	Rapport de la différence à la somme moyenne de 6 années publiées en 1823	
							En plus.	En moins.
					francs.	f. c.		
Reliquat au 31 Décembre 1821 - - -				509,148	9,670,029	18 99	,,	,,
Engagemens pendant l'année 1822 - - -				1,113,809	18,390,596	16 51	0,007	,,
Total - - -				1,622,957	28,060,625	17 28	,,	,,
DÉGAGEMENS.								
Valeur moyenne d'un article dégagé.	Effectués par.	Articles.	Sommes.					
f. c.			francs.					
15 23	Retrait . .	913,259	13,910,321	1,100,971	17,948,548	16 30	,,	0,017
23 94	Renouvellement	137,995	3,303,981					
14 77	Vente . . .	49,717	734,246					
16 30	Total . .	1,100,971	17,948,548					
Restant en magasin au 31 Décembre 1822 . .				521,986	10,112,077	19 37	,,	,,

PROVISIONS.—The average price of white bread is 0,61 centimes for the loaf of two kilogrammes.

The average price of cattle at the various markets, in 1823,—for oxen, first quality, 1 f. 03 c. per kilogramme; cows, first quality, 0,88 c.; calves, first quality, 1 f. 27 c.; sheep, first quality, 1 f. 9 c.

There are two or three tables of which I more particularly regret the omission: one, which gives in detail all the expenses of building a house, the materials and the work necessary for each part, the revenue to be derived from the building, and each part of the building, when constructed; the number of persons employed in the different departments of house building, and the increase of houses in Paris.

Another, which gives the number of persons insane, their professions, the causes of their insanity, the length of time they stay in the establishment of Bicêtre, &c.*

To these I should have wished to add one at least of the tables, in which the different manufactures of Paris are analyzed—their number, the value of their machinery and utensils, the designation of the persons they employ, the number and the wages of those persons, the articles they use, their general expenses, and their general returns, all clearly and systematically given.

These tables I certainly omit with great regret, but the only two which I think myself, upon the whole, justified in inserting, are the two that follow, and which give the double movement of the human mind, in the French metropolis.

* Since writing this I have found in Dr. Bowring's report many of these tables given.

Tableau des Marchandises qui ont été exportées à l'étranger par la Douane de Paris. (Années 1822 et 1823.)

Dénomination des Marchandises Exportées.	Valeur déclarée pour les années	
	1822.	1823.
	francs.	francs.
Antimoine	„	10,030
Armes de luxe	142,190	136,099
Bimbeloterie	90,210	81,452
Bois communs, baguettes dorées, bois d'acajou, liége, &c.	45,976	22,432
Boissons fermentées Vins	26,238	18,640
Boissons fermentées Vinaigres	11,161	6,884
Boissons Liqueurs distillées	17,544	9,640
Chandelles	250	170
Cheveux		
„ non ouvragés	„	28,680
„ ouvragés	„	31,200
Cire		
„ ouvrée	11,230	4,400
„ non ouvrée	„	1,650
Coton en feuilles, filé, gommé; ouates	„	1,020
Couleurs		
„ Cochenille	„	9,300
„ Diverses	„	9,940
„ Encre	32,945	21,370
„ Noir de souliers	„	3,176
„ Vernis	22,350	14,020
Coutellerie	35,200	40,290
Crayons	7,069	10,580
Cuivre		
„ doré, battu, laminé	„	156,010
„ ouvré	95,617	86,960
Eau minérale	„	470
Etain ouvré	7,570	4,460
Farineux et pâtes d'Italie	3,820	10,078
Fanons de baleine	„	3,270
Fer		
„ de tréfilerie. (Fil de fer)	50,404	54,170
„ ouvré	49,190	7,850
„ platiné, étamé, fer-blanc	„	23,310
„ carbonaté. (Acier ouvré)	1,070	850
Feutres. (Chapeaux)	154,064	123,294
Fil. retors blanchi	6,900	„
Fil. retors teint	31,245	19,260
Fil. coton filé blanc	5,900	8,280
Fil. coton filé teint	10,170	6,530
Fruits secs et confits	„	21,420

Tableau des Marchandises qui ont été exportées à l'étranger par la Douane de Paris. (Années 1822 et 1823.)

Dénomination des Marchandises Exportées.	Valeur déclarée pour les années	
	1822.	1823.
	francs.	francs.
Graines, semences de jardins, de fleurs et de prairies	23,910	18,240
Horlogerie		
„ Ouvrages montés	738,479	231,570
„ Fournitures d'horlogerie	1,050	19,710
Habillemens neufs	„	107,020
Instrumens		
„ Outils à métiers	35,110	41,500
„ Caractères d'imprimerie	65,825	50,660
„ Cardes à carder	25,604	30,352
„ Machines et mécaniques	153,510	120,623
„ de sciences et d'arts libéraux	94,189	98,063
„ de musique	163,975	136,491
Médicamens		
„ composés	107,511	158,200
„ Sucs végétaux, espèces médicinales	„	26,623
Mercerie		
„ commune	1,947,496	1,635,992
„ fine	1,254,478	1,506,060
Métaux communs		
„ plaqués	277,539	208,420
„ argentés et dorés	1,555,957	1,419,538
„ vernissés et moirés	823,212	626,820
„ moirés métalliques	22,301	„
Métaux précieux		
„ Argent brut ou lingots	„	400
„ Or (monnayé)	„	44,500
„ Or battu en feuilles	16,886	23,720
„ Or filé, soie	„	4,600
„ Or brut, lingots	„	3,120
„ Bijouterie d'or ou de vermeil	29,758	136,990
„ Bijouterie *idem*, ornée de pierres et perles fines	451,700	370,090
„ Bijouterie *idem*, ornée de pierres et perles ordinaires	„	36,210
„ Orfévrerie d'or ou de vermeil	297,994	238,600
„ Orfévrerie, argent	269,971	386,980
„ Orfévrerie, platine	4,690	„
„ Bijouterie, argent	71,721	59,590
„ Bijouterie, platine	800	„

Tableau des Marchandises qui ont été exportées à l'étranger par la Douane de Paris. (Années 1822 et 1823.)

Dénomination des Marchandises Exportées.	Valeur déclarée pour les années	
	1822.	1823.
	francs.	francs.
Meubles	438,558	507,912
Modes		
„ (Ouvrages de)	1,730,683	1,510,452
„ Fleurs artificielles	481,209	518,554
Moutarde	30,973	19,300
Objets de collection hors de commerce		
„ Histoire naturelle	40,599	128,962
„ Curiosités	28,078	13,560
„ Statues et bustes en bronze	24,798	37,156
„ *Idem* en marbre	11,956	3,392
„ Tableaux	410,200	339,058
„ Dessins à la main	6,800	1,792
„ Médailles	10,840	8,256
Papier		
„ carton moulé	82,410	115,770
„ blanc	93,800	68,910
„ colorié, pour reliures	21,080	34,620
„ peint, pour tentures	909,484	726,742
„ Librairie	2,473,969	2,634,050
„ Cartes géographiques	39,450	36,510
„ *Idem* à jouer	„	20,860
„ Gravures	223,381	218,500
„ Musique gravée	46,999	56,310
Parapluies	111,274	51,630
Parfumerie	586,244	613,840
Peaux		
„ préparées ou apprêtées	491,400	658,860
„ ouvrées	1,417,056	579,150
Pelleteries		
„ ouvrées	„	34,500
„ non ouvrées	363,642	531,560
Perles fines (non montées)	131,900	121,900
Pierres, &c.		
„ Marbre (ouvré)	6,270	11,120
„ Albâtre (ouvré)	19,348	9,410
„ Plâtre moulé	12,845	16,624
„ à aiguiser et à feu	„	4,124
Pierres gemmes, diamans et pierres de couleur (montées et non montées)	91,800	86,900
Plants d'arbres	„	41,190
Plumes		
„ à écrire	„	8,090
„ de parure	292,999	278,660

Tableau des Marchandises qui ont été exportées à l'étranger par la Douane de Paris. (Années 1822 et 1823.)

Dénomination des Marchandises Exportées.	Valeur déclarée pour les années.	
	1822.	1823.
	francs.	francs.
Poils et laines		
„ en masses (Mérinos)	1,470	6,330
„ laines filées	45,704	33,860
Poterie		
„ de grès fin	41,395	31,496
„ Porcelaine	1,740,231	1,451,730
Produits chimiques	103,742	81,818
Sellerie en cuir et autres	111,789	157,146
Sucreries. (Bombons, &c.)	22,289	26,770
Soie		
„ à coudre, par petits écheveaux	51,340	37,560
„ à tapisserie	8,710	5,090
Tabac fabriqué	„	33.310
Tabletterie	227,150	247,850
Teintures, tannins, safrans, cochenilles, &c.	„ 357,607	468,415
Tissus de lin et chanvre		
„ Toiles	168,236	121,500
„ Cordages	„	1,900
„ Batistes et linons	974,818	814,230
„ Dentelles	168,118	56,758
„ Bonneterie	6,510	9,150
„ Passementerie	45,388	50,890
„ Rubans	7,180	1,490
Tissus de laine		
„ Couvertures	1,110	1,780
„ Tapis	22,640	30,820
„ Casimirs	247,849	417,450
„ Draps	334,129	208,940
„ Schals	937,946	1,178,630
„ Bonneterie	28,650	12,790
„ Passementerie	30,340	40,390
Tissus de poils angora		
„ Schals	4,330	„
„ Bonneteries	20	7,200
Tissus de crin. (étoffes et crin frisé)	23,312	14,915
Tissus de soie		
„ Etoffes	4,755,985	4,824,780
„ *Idem* broché en or fin et faux	„	6,900
„ Schals soie et laine	2,087,255	458,310
„ *Idem* pure soie	„	445,810
„ Gaze	778,594	844,600
„ Crêpe	77,962	303,460

Tableau des Marchandises qui ont été exportées à l'étranger par la Douane de Paris. (Annees 1822 et 1823.)

Dénomination des Marchandises Exportées.	Valeur déclarée pour les années.	
	1822.	823.
	francs.	francs.
Tissus de soie		
„ Tulle	38,408	84,550
„ Dentelles de soie, dites blondes	593,310	513,982
„ Bonneterie	540,490	606,590
„ Passementerie d'or ou d'arg. fin.	76,343	39,520
„ *Idem* d'or ou d'argent faux	34,208	20,290
„ *Idem* sans mélange	415,889	436,990
„ Rubans	1,556,824	1,081,080
„ Bourre de soie, façon cachemire	„	395,780
Tissus de coton		
„ Toiles écrues. (Calicos.)	„	820
„ *Idem* blanches. (*Idem.*)	16,454	6,820
„ *Idem* peintes et imprimées	56,713	52,870
„ Tulle	„	2,200
„ Piqués. (Basins.)	78,483	97,000
„ Schals et mouchoirs	44,030	61,580
„ Couvertures	10,916	5,410
„ Bonneterie	27,440	18,200
„ Chapeaux	„	13,210
„ Passementerie	28,621	45,190
Vannerie		
„ Feuilles tissues et non tressées	42,009	24,040
„ Paniers d'osier	„	6,920
„ Nattes ou tresses	24,065	24,280
„ Chapeaux de paille et écorce	196,041	402,830
Vanille	„	20,800
Verres et cristaux. (Glace.)	„	200,756
Verreries et cristal	328,488	266,804
Verreries, verres à lun.tes, à cadrans, taillés et polis	„	25,490
Voitures à ressorts	33,188	7,272
Viande de bouch. et porc salé, volaille et gibier	„	6,490
Totaux	36,475,745	35,279,703

Marchandises exportées sous la réserve de la prime.

Trimestres.	Année 1822.	Année 1823.
	francs. cents.	francs.
1.er	1,282,735 65	1,192,981
2.e	1,675,466 39	1,499,253
3.e	2,160,764 95	3,225,418
4.e	1,480,238 90	2,737,482
Totaux généraux	6,599,203 19	8,655,134

IMPRIMERIE.—*Tableau systématique des Ouvrages qui ont été imprimés en France pendant l'année* 1824, *et dont une très-grande partie sort des Presses de la ville de Paris.*

Division systématique des ouvrages.	Proportions sur 100 ouvrages imprimés.	Nombre des ouvrages par divisions	Nombre des ouvrages par sous-divisions	Sous-divisions systématiques des ouvrages.	Proportions sur 100 ouvrages dans chaque division.
Théologie	7	378	35	Bibles et ouvrages y relatifs	9
			42	Liturgie	11
			65	Catéchismes, cantiques, sermonnaires	17
			236	Apologistes, mystiques, traités divers	63
Jurisprudence	6	306	18	Droit naturel romain et étranger	6
			288	Droit français	94
Sciences et Arts	32	1,649	89	Encyclopédie, philosophie, logique, métaphysique, morale	5
			189	Education	12
			359	Economie politique, administration politique	22
			158	Finances	9
			50	Commerce, poids et mesures	3
			84	Physique, chimie, pharmacie	5
			98	Histoire naturelle	6
			58	Agriculture, économie rurale, vétérinaire et domestique	4
			192	Médecine et chirurgie	12
			35	Mathématiques	2
			18	Astronomie	1
			16	Marine	1
			89	Art, administration et histoire militaire	5
			34	Sciences occultes et jeux	2
			53	Arts et métiers, écriture, imprimerie	3
			127	Beaux-arts	8
A reporter	45	2,333			

Division systématique des ouvrages.	Proportions sur 100 ouvrages imprimés.	Nombre des ouvrages par divisions	Nombre des ouvrages par sous-divisions	Sous-divisions systématiques des ouvrages.	Proportions sur 100 ouvrages dans chaque division.
Belles-lettres	33	1,685	12	Cours et traités divers	1
			121	Langues	7
			53	Rhétorique et éloquence	3
			601	Poétique et poésie	36
			283	Théâtre	17
			320	Romans et contes	19
			31	Mythologie et fables	2
			162	Philologie, critique, mélanges	9
			67	Polygraphes	4
			39	Epistolaires	2
Histoire	22	1,135	33	Géographie	3
			59	Voyages	5
			11	Histoire universelle, ancienne et moderne	1
			62	Histoire sacrée et ecclésiastique	5
			27	Histoire ancienne, grecque et romaine	2
			255	Histoire de France	23
			92	Histoire moderne des différens peuples	8
			43	Antiquités	4
			121	Sociétés particulières, savantes, &c	11
			63	Sociétés savantes	6
			19	Histoire littéraire et bibliographie	2
			156	Journaux	14
			187	Biographie et extraits	16
Report de ci-contre	45	2,333			
Total général des ouvrages imprimés	100	5,153			

Nota. Le recueil précédent donne des renseignemens généraux sur le commerce de l'imprimerie dans la ville de Paris, et sur les produits moyens d'une année pour cette branche d'industrie.

Census of Paris.

1833.

In 714,000 inhabitants, there are 446,300 men, and 267,700 women.
340 high public functionaries.
70,000 national guards.
490 persons in the law.
1140 members of the institute and the university.
18,460 clerks.
47,000 students.
19,000 soldiers in garrison.
77,200 inscribed indigent poor; but the office of charity relieves nearly 90,000.
80,000 servants.
266,000 living on their incomes.
290,800 day-labourers.
13,700 sick, infirm, or old, in the hospitals.
12,160 foundlings.
12 parishes.
27 chapels of ease.
38 religious establishments.
2 basilics.
19 libraries.
23 royal schools.
9 royal colleges.
269 pensioners of both sexes.
26 theatres.
84 barracks.
10 prisons.

16 gates.
11 markets.
4 aqueducts.
210 fountains.
3,900 grocers.
600 bakers.
2,000 wine shops.
9 cemeteries.
12 mayoralties forming twelve divisions.
48 wards.
1,190 streets.
120 blind alleys.
13 enclosures.
130 arcades.
73 squares.
33 quays.
20 bridges.
98 toll-houses.
23 boulevards.
8 palaces.

The annual expenditure of Paris is estimated at 894,032,893 francs, equal to about 36,000,000*l.* which on a population of 875,000 gives an average of about 1,120 frs. a head; and this division forms the basis for that calculation I have given from M. Millot. The annual consumption of food and drink in Paris is about 12,349,800*l.*, giving each individual for his share 14*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*

EXTRACTED FROM DR. BOWRING'S VERY INTERESTING REPORT.

Questions of the British Commissioners concerning the Workmen of Paris.

1. What has the fall in salaries or wages been during the last five years?

2. How many days in the week do workmen, in general, labour? and how many hours in the day?

3. In what trades is it customary to take apprentices?

4. At what age, and on what terms is that done?

5. Do workmen, in general, spend the whole of their income?

6. Do they frequently place their savings in the savings' banks?

7. On what day of the week do they receive their wages?

Answers given by an intelligent Parisian Workman.

1. The fall in prices was but immaterial during the three years preceding the Revolution; it has only been important since that epoch, and has even yet much affected only trades of luxury,—such as jewellery, carving, gilding, cabinet-work, engraving on gems, watch and clock-making, coach-making,

&c. In these trades the fall has been from 1 fr. to 3 fr. per day; in others it has been but from 50 c. to 1 fr., and in some, but a small number it is true, no fall has taken place.

2. In general,* workmen labour all the week, and in some trades even half the Sunday. About one-eighth part of the whole may be excepted,—for those who have contracted the habit of making holidays of Sunday and Monday. The time of work is twelve hours per day for builders—such as masons, locksmiths, carpenters; in other trades thirteen hours, from which, however, two hours are to be deducted for meal-times.

3. Masons and stone-cutters are the only trades that do not take apprentices at Paris: workmen of these classes coming from the country sufficiently acquainted with their business. All others receive apprentices.

4. Boys are put out as apprentices from the age of 12 to 14. In some trades they were formerly boarded in the master's house, but this system is almost abolished. The time of apprenticeship is three years in easy trades, and four years in those of greater difficulty; during this term the apprentice receives no pay.

5. Workmen generally expend all they earn.

6. We may safely affirm that hardly one-sixth of

* I believe the words 'in general' to be incorrect.

them are economical enough to put any thing into the savings' banks.

It may be reckoned that one half of the workmen belong to benefit societies; the members of these societies impose upon themselves a slight contribution of 1 fr. 50 c. per month; in return for which they, in case of sickness, receive medicines gratis, are attended, also gratuitously, by the physician employed by the society, and have an allowance of 2 fr. per day till their complete recovery.

These societies are very numerous in Paris; the

* The following is the state and progress of these banks. The first institution of savings' banks was in 1818. They succeeded but very slowly; but are now spreading, and exist in Bordeaux, Douai, Dunkerque, Hâvre, Lyon, Luneville, Metz, Mulhausen, Nantes, Nimes, Orléans, Paris, Rennes, Reims, Rouen, St. Etienne, Toulon, Toulouse, Tours, Troyes, and Versailles, and most of the other great towns seem inclined to adopt them.

SAVINGS BANK OF PARIS.

Comparative Table.

Years.	Invested. Francs.	Drawn. Francs.
1829	6,278,134	1,105,700
1830	5,195,651	3,756,911
1831	2,403,563	3,318,368
1832	3,613,221	2,200,734

most numerous does not contain more than 200 or 300 members; and, according to a statement drawn up by the Philanthropic Society, the poorest, even, has a fund of from 2,000 to 3,000 fr. placed either in the savings' bank, or at the Mont de Piété

7. It is in general on each Saturday night that the workmen receive their pay: in a few trades only are they paid by the fortnight.

Paris, 28th February, 1832.—Food of the Workmen of Paris.

This may be arranged under four heads:—

1. The terrace-makers and labourers live very economically, not expending more than from 16 to 17 sous per day! in the morning they repair to the low eating-houses, called Gargottes, where for 7 sous they get soup, and a plate of meat with vegetables; their custom is to breakfast on the soup and vegetables, and carry the meat away with them for their dinner.

Thus these 7 sous, two pounds of bread, 8 sous, and, perhaps, for wine, 2 sous, make 17 sous.

2. The masons, paviours, locksmiths, &c., do not exceed 20 or 21 sous; their only addition to the above being four or five sous for supper. 21 sous.

3. The other classes of trades shown upon the

list, such as carvers, saddlers, gilders, printers, mechanics, upholsterers, &c., spend from 25 to 27 sous; thus:—

Soup and meat for breakfast . .	7
Dinner	6
Wine at ditto	6
Two pounds of bread . .	8
Sous	27

4. The fourth class may, perhaps, spend from 30 to 36 sous. This class comprises the jewellers, engravers, watch-makers, tailors, &c.

Breakfast, estimated at . .	12
Dinner, at an ordinary, at per head .	22
Other expenses . . .	2
Sous	36

Lodging.—The workmen who have their own furniture may get apartments for from 40 fr. to 100 fr. per annum: they who hire furnished rooms, pay—

	Francs per annum.
For a whole room, twelve francs per month .	144
For a room with more than one lodger, eight francs per month	96
For the half of a bed, five francs per month .	60

CLOTHING.—The expense for clothing cannot be precisely estimated, from the difference existing in the dress of the various classes of workmen. The masons, smiths, &c. who wear very coarse clothing, do not expend more than 100 or 120 fr. for dress, washing, shoes, &c.; while the jewellers, watch-makers, and engravers spend at least 300 fr., perhaps 350 fr., but not more.

AMUSEMENTS.—We shall not here speak of those thriftless men,* who, on the Sunday and Monday, spend three fourths of their weekly earnings in intemperance, and who, to defray their daily expenses, contract debts they never pay, but of prudent men who base their expenses on their income.

Some of these content themselves with spending 25 to 30 sous in the houses of entertainment in the suburbs; others frequent the public balls of Paris, and spend in entrance money and refreshments from 40 sous to 3 fr., perhaps 3 fr. 50 c.; others go to the theatres, where the price of admittance to the pit varies with the different houses; there are some of 1 fr. 25 c., and others of 2 fr. 50 c.; we may add about 50 c. for unforeseen expenses, raising the whole to from 1 fr. 75 c. to 3 fr.

* All my inquiries and observations lead me to believe that these thriftless men, as Dr. Bowring calls them, form a considerable part of the Parisian workmen. But as I shall treat this subject at length elsewhere, I do not now enter upon it.

There are, moreover, secret expenses, on which we can say nothing.

[*Answers from the Workmen of Paris to Questions of the British Commissioners.*

The Official Returns for 1827 in Paris, give for the average Price of Labour the following statements:—

Number of Workpeople.		Average. Francs.
1054	Tobacco manufacturers, highest rate, fr. 3·35 per day, lowest, fr. 1·45	2·08½
1000	Fan-makers; men, fr. 2·50, women, fr. 1·25, children, c. 60.	
4116	Paper-stainers; men, fr. 3 to 4, women, fr. 1·50 to 2, children, c. 80 to fr. 1.	
600	Wool-washers	1 80
400	Ditto, in the fleece	1·70
1050	Blanket manufacturers	2·50
200	Lapidaries	4·00
3345	Working jewellers, lowest rate, fr. 2·50 highest, fr. 4·50.	
925	Marble-workers and statuaries, lowest rate, fr. 2·50, highest, fr. 6·00.	
750	Glass manufacturers	4·00
417	Lithographic printers, lowest rate, fr. 1.50, highest, fr. 5 00.	
46	Gas-work labourers	2·75

Taking on an average of 12 years the prices of labour for the following trades (from 1817 to 1828) are thus given:—

	Lowest. Francs.	Highest. Francs.	Last rate. Francs.
Stone-cutters	3·25	4·25	3·50
Bricklayers	3·75	5·00	4·50
Ditto (assistants)	2·50	3·50	3·25
Day-labourers	2·00	3·00	2·30
Masons	3·25	4·50	3·50
Mortar-makers	2·50	3·25	2 75
Boys (employed by builders)	1·90	2·40	2 10
Carpenters	3·25	4 00	3·40

The price paid to sawyers was:—

	Lowest. Francs.	Highest. Francs.	Last rate. Francs.
Sawing oak	230 per 100	260	240
Ditto, fir	160 ,,	210	170

[*Prefect of the Seine.*]*

In the iron works at Vandelesse, (Nièvre,) the price of labour is fr. 1·50 per day; (Dupin. p. 293;) at Nevers, for manufacture of iron cables, 2 fr.; at Fourchambault, (where 2386 are employed in wood-cutting,) fr. 1·60 is the average rate; the workmen in the potteries at Nevers gain fr. 1·75 per day; at Nogent, in the manufacture of linen goods, the wages are, to men, fr. 2, women, fr. 1·25,

* These prices are taken from M. Chabrol's reports.

and children, 60 c. to 90 c. per day; at Mouy, in the woollen manufactures, men are paid from fr. 1 to fr. 1·50, and boys of fifteen, 1 fr.; in the Department de l'Aube, the weavers of fine cloths get fr. 1·75, stocking-makers, fr. 1, cotton-spinners, fr. 1·50 per day, reelers and winders, fr. 1, tanners, 2 fr. to 2 fr. 10 c.; at St. Etienne, the wages paid to the miners are, diggers, fr. 2·50, drawers, fr. 3 per day; at Rive de Gier, fr. 4·25 and fr. 3·50, nailors receive either 7 to 10 centimes per lb., or from fr. 1 to fr. 1·50 per 1,000. The tenders on silk worms are paid from 50 c. to. 1 fr. per day. Women employed in reeling silk, receive 1 fr. per lb. At the forge of Janon, (Vienne,) a master founder is paid 8 fr., a founder, 4 fr. to 5 fr., a labourer, 2 fr., and a boy from fr. 1 to fr. 1·25 per day. At Rive de Gier, the labouring makers of coke, receive from fr. 2 to fr. 2·50 per day.

The "Ponts et Chaussées" pay their labourers 36 fr. per calendar month.—*Dupin*, p. 263.

M. Dupin, as the result of his observations and investigations as to the medium price of manufacturing labour, calculates fr. 2·26 for the northern, and fr. 1·89 for the southern provinces of France;—giving, with a reference to the whole population, fr. 2·06 as the average rate.—[*Sundry Sources.*

Statistic of the number of Houses, and the Inhabitants in the chief Cities of Europe.

	Houses.	Inhabitants.
London	174,000	1,400,000
Paris	45,000	774.000
St. Petersburg	9,000	449,000
Naples	30,000	360,000
Vienna	7,000	300,000

The Chief Cities of the World, with their distance from Paris.

	Leagues.		Leagues.
Amsterdam	112	Moscow	620
Anvers	78	Naples	410
Bâle	117	Palermo	406
Berlin	225	Parma	225
Brussels	69	Petersburg	500
Cadiz	395	Rome	325
Constantinople	556	Stockholm	380
Copenhagen	250	Turin	167
Dantzic	300	Warsaw	375
Dover	75	Venice	248
Dresden	213	Vienna	275
Dublin	185	Alexandria	756
Edinburgh	190	Cape of Good Hope	2100
Ghent	70	Saint Helena	1700
Geneva	145	Pekin	2350
Gibraltar	410	Jerusalem	810
The Hague	90	Pondichery	2390
Leipsic	189	Smyrna	630
London	98	Mexico	2189
Madrid	300	Philadelphia	1100
Milan	153		

Colonies in the Possession of France.

Algiers .	. 409	Guadaloupe .	. 1539
Isle of Bourbon	. 2996	Guinea .	. 1600
Senegal .	. 910	Martinique .	1530*

* Extracted from the Almanack du peuple.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018